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MISSIONS AND INDUSTRIALISM

Volume I

THE CHRISTIAN LIFE AND MESSAGE IN RELATION TO NON-CHRISTIAN SYSTEMS OF THOUGHT AND LIFE

Volume II

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

Volume III

THE RELATION BETWEEN THE YOUNGER AND THE OLDER CHURCHES

Volume IV

THE CHRISTIAN MISSION IN THE LIGHT OF RACE CONFLICT

Volume V

THE CHRISTIAN MISSION IN RELATION TO INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS

Volume VI

THE CHRISTIAN MISSION IN RELATION TO RURAL PROBLEMS

Volume VII

INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY COÖPERATION

Volume VIII

ADDRESSES ON GENERAL SUBJECTS

THE JERUSALEM MEETING OF THE
INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL

MARCH 24–APRIL 8, 1928

VOLUME V

The Christian Mission in Relation to Industrial Problems

INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL
New York City: 419 Fourth Avenue
London: 2 Eaton Gate, S. W. 1
1928

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PREFACE

THE inclusion of the subject of Industrialism in the program of the International Missionary Council meeting at Jerusalem is one of the facts that illustrate the development of the missionary movement during the eighteen years that have elapsed since the Edinburgh Conference of 1910. The complete absence of any discussion of such a subject at the Edinburgh Conference, in contrast with the prominence given to this and kindred issues at the Jerusalem Meeting, has suggested to many minds a greater change than is really evident. Both missionaries and Christian leaders in such countries as India, China, Japan, and Africa have for years past given attention, increasing in seriousness, to the emerging industrial problems of these countries. The Jerusalem agenda merely reflects this fact. Moreover, the International Missionary Council from its inception in 1920 has been conscious of the importance of the subject, and has admitted its own measure of responsibility for it. At the meeting when the Council was inaugurated at Crans in Switzerland in June, 1920, among the tasks entrusted to the International Missionary Committee was

> a study of the attitude and policy of the missionary movement in relation to the growth of industrialism in Asia and other mission fields, and the social problems arising therefrom.[1]

At the meeting of the International Missionary Council held at Lake Mohonk in the United States in October, 1921, the following resolution was passed:

> The International Missionary Meeting at Crans having included among the tasks to be assigned to the Council the study of the attitude and policy of the missionary movement in relation to the growth of industrialism in Asia and other mission fields and the social problems of human welfare arising therefrom, the Council asks its officers to get into touch with groups and individuals in different countries who are interested in the subject to ascertain as far as their time and strength permit the extent and character of

[1] Minutes of Crans Meeting, p. 17.

efforts that are being made to deal with these matters, and to make a report to the Council at its next meeting.[1]

Only the limitations of staff prevented action from following upon this decision. The Committee of the Council at its meeting at Rättvik in Sweden in July, 1926, passed another resolution on the same subject:

> The Committee is of the opinion that the potential evils involved are so great as to imperil the social and moral life of these nations and that this question demands the most earnest consideration of the Christian forces. The subject should therefore be included in the program of the next meeting of the Council when there will be present a large representation of the indigenous churches; and the officers are requested to devote special attention to its preparation for that meeting. The Committee further considers that, in view of the immense range of the subject, it is essential that the activities of the Council connected with it should be limited and thorough, directed to the enlistment of expert Christian social workers in the different countries, to the encouragement of experiment in study and action in chosen industrial centers, and to the maintenance of fellowship between the churches of the "East and of the West in the facing of this issue."[2]

As the Rättvik Meeting saw also the inception of plans for an increased secretarial staff, the carrying out of this resolution became a matter of practical policies and the preparation for the discussion of the subject of Industrialism at Jerusalem was taken in hand.

A preliminary paper entitled *Christianity and the Growth of Industrialism in Asia and Africa* was circulated to all the members of the Jerusalem Meeting. It was prepared on the basis of material secured from different groups in Great Britain, in the United States, on the Continent of Europe, and in India, China, Japan, South Africa, and other countries, and particularly valuable help was given by Mr. H. A. Grimshaw and certain other officers of the International Labor Office organization at Geneva. This paper has been revised in the light of further material supplied

[1] Minutes of Mohonk Meeting, pp. 55–6.
[2] Minutes of Rättvik Meeting, p. 24.

during or since the Jerusalem Meeting, and with that revision and enlargement is now reprinted here.

It should be explained that the word "industrialism" in this paper and throughout the discussions with which this volume of the report is concerned is used to cover the problems arising out of the spread of machine industry, and the simpler and village cottage handicrafts are omitted from consideration. The reason for this is not that the village industries are not important, for in the countries discussed in this volume the overwhelming majority of the population lives under rural conditions. It is rather that separate consideration was given to the problems of rural life in the Jerusalem Meeting, and Volume VI of this report is devoted entirely to them. The important subject of Forced Labor among primitive peoples is, however, dealt with in this volume.

The method by which the subject was dealt with by the meeting in Jerusalem may be briefly described. Mr. R. H. Tawney of the London School of Economics, author of *The Acquisitive Society* and *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, and Bishop Francis J. McConnell, a leading bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States, widely known for his leadership in the social movement of the American churches, opened the discussion by addresses which are given in this volume. The whole Council divided into groups to discuss the subjects of Industrialism, Race Relationships, and Rural Problems, roughly one-third of the members devoting themselves to each. Out of the large group which discussed the subject and the preliminary paper on Industrialism a smaller group was chosen to draft a statement to be presented to the whole Council. The statement was fully debated, referred back to the Committee, revised, and finally passed in the form in which it appears here.

In addition to these discussions on the subject of Industrialism, considered specifically by itself, the relation of the industrial development of Asia and the labor problems of Africa to the progress of the Christian cause was continually

emphasized in the other meetings of the Council. This was particularly the case in the discussions on the Christian Message, and in the sectional discussions on Secular Civilization in Relation to the Christian Message. For instance, Mr. Tawney, answering the question why the great mass of mankind is alienated from Christianity, said:

"It is not because of materialism in any dogmatic sense: it is due in part to the breaking up of old moral standards, and in addition, to the fact that the Christian church has left untouched much territory which it should be occupying. Christians tolerate too much that they should attack. Christianity must command either the whole of life or none. We have been too much afraid of the paradoxical claims of Christ. The Church will either be overwhelmed or it will come to control the whole social order."

Mr. Grimshaw created a painful and ineffaceable impression on his audience when he referred to one area of Africa in which ninety-four per cent. of the men drafted for forced labor had died, and vehemently asserted that it was by their attitude towards such crying evils that the sincerity of Christians was being judged.

The statement finally passed by the Council contains a plan for the establishment of a Bureau of Social and Economic Research and Information in connection with the International Missionary Council.[1] This plan is being elaborated and placed before the national organizations for their approval.

[1] See pages 149–50.

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Part One

PRELIMINARY PAPER

PUBLISHED IN PREPARATION FOR
THE JERUSALEM MEETING

The following preliminary paper was distributed in advance of the Jerusalem Meeting to all the delegates for their information. The paper has been revised and enlarged before reprinting in this volume. This paper was not formally presented to the Council and no action was taken by the International Missionary Council in reference to it. Except in the case of statements and recommendations adopted by formal vote, the International Missionary Council is not responsible for the opinions or statements expressed.

CHAPTER I

CHRISTIANITY AND THE GROWTH OF INDUSTRIALISM IN ASIA AND AFRICA

The Reverend William Paton, M.A.

I. INDUSTRIALISM AN INTERNATIONAL ISSUE

OF all the influences which draw the nations of the world together and daily increase the multitude of their points of contact, none is greater than the development of industry. Looked at from one point of view, the process is manifestly making for a sense of the need that all nations have of one another. The highly industrialized nations, such as the United States, Great Britain, and Germany, depend in varying degrees upon the countries of Asia and Africa for the raw materials without which their factories are idle; the livelihood, that is to say, of people engaged in making rubber tires in America or jute bags in Dundee depends upon the labor of people in India, or Malaya, or Liberia. Looked at from another point of view, the possibilities of strife seem to be almost endless. For the countries of Asia are now less and less merely producers of raw material; they are manufacturing for their own needs and for more than their own needs. Japan is able to affect even the domestic market in India for cotton goods, and Japan and India together have radically altered the outlook of the British cotton-exporting trade in the East. The working man and the industrial employer in the West have begun to realize that it is necessary for their own interests that the level of living of the Eastern workers should be raised. The Eastern industrial worker has had little chance or ability to think about the matter at all, but he and those who care for his welfare are beginning to see the dangers that inhere in the development of machine industry in countries where labor is plentiful, cheap, and little able to protect itself, and where the principal weapon by which such industry can compete in the world's market is the extreme cheapness of production.

From the point of view of the Western worker, the issue at stake is the maintenance of a standard of life. One way of doing it is the way of exclusion laws, which keep out the colored workers, and high tariffs, which keep out the colored workers' produce. Another way is that to which the International Labor Organization has dedicated its great energies, the way of attempting internationally to regulate and improve conditions of labor, so that ultimately (and we cannot deny that the goal is distant) something like a minimum world standard of life might be secured.

From the point of view of the Eastern countries the question is different. They are faced by the invasion of a type of life utterly alien to their historic cultures. Sir Atul Chatterjee, in his presidential address to the International Labor Conference at Geneva in 1927, said that "social justice and goodwill between nations are the aims which the whole of mankind is seeking, but for the peoples of the East these objects have a profound significance. The miseries, privations, and injustices attendant on unregulated industrialism constitute a grave menace to the culture and philosophy which are the proud heritage of Asiatic races. Our ancient traditions and civilizations must be preserved, but they require to be adjusted to the new environment which industrialism inevitably produces." An unchecked industrialism means for the East the disappearance of much of her beauty, the submerging of the values distinctive of her civilizations, and the inrush of new problems affecting the inmost fabric of her social life.

II. INDUSTRIALISM AND THE CHRISTIAN WORLD MISSION

We will not attempt to discuss at length the view that the sphere of social betterment has nothing to do with the Christian Gospel. The *Message of the Church to the World*, issued by the World Conference on Faith and Order which met at Lausanne in August, 1927, contains some phrases which may be taken as sufficiently representative of the instructed mind

of the Church. "The Gospel is the prophetic call to sinful man to turn to God, the joyful tidings of justification and of sanctification to those who believe in Christ. It is the comfort of those who suffer; to those who are bound, it is the assurance of the glorious liberty of the sons of God. The Gospel brings peace and joy to the heart, and produces in men self-denial, readiness for brotherly service, and compassionate love. It offers the supreme goal for the aspirations of youth. . . . The Gospel is the sure source of power for social regeneration. It proclaims the only way by which humanity can escape from those class- and race-hatreds which devastate society at present into the enjoyment of national well-being and international friendship and peace. . . ."

Theoretically, the position of Christianity is clear. It stands for an individual regeneration which transforms the whole of the individual's relation to society, and for a redeemed social order inspired by the spirit of Christ. To omit either emphasis is to depart from the authentic Christian position; it is impossible, in the face of the parable of the Good Samaritan and the "Inasmuch as ye did it to the least of these," to say that the life of discipleship to Jesus has nothing to do with the service of this world order; on the other hand we grossly misunderstand the spirit of the Gospel if we represent it solely as a humanitarian ethic.

Alas, it is easier to say these things than to fill the words with content. The Church may declare its message to the world, but the world is not going to accept it just because the Church declares it. In answer to the claim that "The Gospel is the sure source of power for social regeneration" the world is likely to ask for evidence of the working of this power, or at least for such clarity of concrete judgment on social need as shall indicate the possession of an inner power and certainty.

In a paper which is to be concerned mainly with the relation of Christianity to the growth of industrialism in Asia and in Africa, it is necessary to admit with absolute candor that Christians in the countries of the West that have enjoyed the Christian tradition for many centuries have not

yet suceeded in making effective the application of the Christian ethic to the world of industrial relations. Western Christians are emphatically not in the position of those who, having achieved, desire to make known their achievement and share it with others. They are acutely conscious of failure, and never so much so as when they face the effects in the East and in Africa of their own industrialized civilization. When Indians speak of "Western materialism" they may perhaps sometimes be using a catch-word, but they are also expressing what is truly a conviction. Orientals who have themselves been captured by the figure of our Lord feel that much of the civilization of Europe and America is alien to Him, and it is precisely these elements which have come in the wake of the industrial revolution that they feel to be most unchristian. Hence the movement among thoughtful men in the Eastern countries away from "Christian civilization," even sometimes away from what they regard as "Christianity," and "back to Christ." But this is dangerous, far more so than is often realized. For in every land Christianity must be judged not only by its ideals but by its achievement, and there cannot but be a great weakening of the whole Christian apologetic if it should come to be regarded as an unquestioned truth that in those regions of the world where it has had longest vogue, Christianity has proved itself unable to affect human life in some of its most important aspects.

The true path is, rather, to try to understand why the failure in the past came about, and to get it in a proper perspective; to gather together all the hopeful suggestions which both the past and the present have to bring; and then to attack the common problem, East and West, as a single task in its different parts, demanding the application of common principles, and the energizing power of a common spirit.

Mr. R. H. Tawney, in his *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, shows how the medieval Christianity of Europe regarded the sphere of economic and social life as unquestionably within the orbit of the Christian ethic. Referring to the

wide difference in the economic outlook of West and East to-day (a difference which daily grows less), he points out that it is no more startling than that between the medieval Christianity which never questioned the inclusion of the economic life, usury, the acquisition of wealth, and the relations between employer and employed under the all-embracing Christian rule, and the prevalent modern view which holds economic life sharply asunder from ethic and religion. Into the reasons for this change we cannot here enter; they can be studied excellently in Mr. Tawney's book. The diminished authority of a divided Christendom, and the emergence, in the vast new system for producing and distributing wealth, of ethical issues bewildering in their number and complexity, are among the main reasons. There are two points which it is necessary for us to face. One is that Christians have allowed economic life to escape from the dominance of the Christian ethic; the other is that the world is not going to be conquered by a Christianity that is not resolute in its determination to allow neither the economic nor any other sphere of human life to be "contracted out" of the range of ethical obligation. We live in a far more complicated world than that of the medieval schoolmen, but we cannot consent, for that reason, to "a contraction of the territory within which the writ of religion is conceived to run," or allow the glamour of material progress to obscure the view of the chief end and value of human life.

It is precisely here that the Christian social worker of the West will join hands with his fellow in the East. The supreme reason for the inclusion of this subject of industrialism in the program of the Jerusalem Meeting is that the Christian mind of India, China, and Japan is asking, with insistence, what is the Christian answer to these new questions which are forcing themselves on their attention and proving as baffling to them as they have to Christians in the West. Sir Atul Chatterjee raises the question from the standpoint of the older Asiatic cultures. Numbers, especially of the younger Christians, are raising it from the point of view

of their own Christianity. They see new contrasts between riches and poverty, new forms of human misery, new and apparently invincible organizations of wealth exploiting the economic need of the masses, and they ask what solution Christianity has to offer.

We may end this general introduction by referring to an argument which is often leveled against the whole mode of thought outlined above, but may, if properly used, become an ally. It is pointed out that the problem of moralizing or spiritualizing economic life involves two sets of factors. The relations between human beings can be made subject to the rule of goodwill, but goodwill has no power over such factors as soil and climate, or over the economic laws which govern social life. This is manifestly true, if we define correctly. Economic laws are descriptive: they state that if *A* happens *B* will follow. What they cannot do is to enjoin that *A ought* to happen; that is, they cannot be concerned with values. Equally, religious and ethical principle must not allow the conviction that *B* ought to happen to obscure the connection of *B* with *A*. It is, therefore, clear that the Christian approach to this subject will be utterly futile if it means no more than the uttering of pious platitudes in the face of problems which are a complicated network of factors, some unalterable, some definitely alterable. It is being found in the sphere of education [1] that the modern study of psychology, with its revelation of the nature and working of the human personality, can be of immense help to the religious worker. In the same way the study of the economic factors in modern life is a necessity for those who hope to bring to bear the light of the Christian spirit upon the industrial problem. Only so can we reach forward to the recovery of that mastery of all life for Christ, that appreciation of the Gospel as "the sure source of power for social regeneration" of which in a true prophecy the churches at Lausanne spoke to the world.

[1] See: Vol. II of Jerusalem Meeting Report, *passim*.

III. CHRISTIANITY AND INDUSTRIALISM IN THE WEST

It has been already stated that the bulk of this paper will be devoted to the problem as it exists in the countries of the East and in Africa, and though the principles to be asserted and the evils to be fought are in all countries fundamentally the same, the treatment given here to the problem as it appears in Europe and America will be brief, for two reasons. First, the literature regarding industrialism in the West is so enormous, and so much work has been done upon it, that it is useless to attempt more in a summary of this kind than to indicate certain issues of importance. Secondly, the main issue of the Jerusalem Meeting is the carrying of the Christian message in the lands called non-Christian, and it is therefore necessary to give special attention to the industrial need in those countries and to see the duty of the Christian Church towards it. It will, however, be of some use if we indicate briefly some elements in the experience of the highly industrialized countries of the West.

The United States of America is the principal instance in the world to-day of the success of industrialism in raising the material standard of life. America has achieved this partly through the possession of great material resources, partly through the absence of tariff barriers over a whole continent, partly through the keen energy of its people. Its distinctive method has been that of uniting high wages to mass production, securing thereby a widespread high purchasing power together with articles produced at a relatively cheap rate. Working people are encouraged to become investors, with the result that the distinction between "capital" and "labor" tends to be less clear-cut than in European countries or than it is becoming in the industrial areas of Asia. American students of social affairs are, however, protesting against the idea that all the problems of economic relationships have been solved in America, and we may find much suggestiveness in the lines of work which

we discover the churches and the organizations for social betterment taking up.[1]

There is not only immense wealth but great inequality of wealth in America, as in other industrial countries, and the conscience of many is exercised both by the inequality and by the low level to which some of the less skilled workers, especially those of foreign origin, are reduced, as shown in some of the recent strikes, as at Passaic and in the coal mines. Collective bargaining through trade unions is questioned by a large section of employers, who advocate individual bargaining. Others favor the system of employee representation, while the trade unions of the European type include ten to twelve per cent. of the workers. The relatively great power of organized employers compared with that of the laborers would undoubtedly in Europe lead to a highly intensified class struggle, and the reason for the comparative absence of such a movement is the widespread belief in the inexhaustible opportunities offered by America, the social expansiveness and absence of class demarcation characteristic of a country whose resources are still only partly realized, the difficulty of organizing immigrant labor, and the individualism of the wage-earners.

There has been a steady improvement in the regulation of wages, hours, and working conditions of women and children, though some laws proposing a minimum wage for women have been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court and the proposed constitutional amendment to limit child labor was defeated. Laws regulating factories, workshops, and mines in the interests of safety and health have been passed, and all but five States have passed workmen's compensation laws. There is, however, no legal provision for sickness or unemployment, and less for old age than in many other countries. Mothers' and widows' pensions, on the other hand, are becoming common. The movement for the protection of the well-being of the industrial workers

[1] For the material of this section I am indebted in the main to Mr. F. Ernest Johnson and a group in America. W. P.

will undoubtedly be strengthened as the quota law limiting immigration results in a decrease of available labor power. The tendency of the moment in America seems to be away from labor legislation towards other methods of protection, but it may be that the legislative movement will re-assert itself as conditions change.

Workers' education has made little headway, and American labor takes comparatively little interest in the international labor movement, whether in contacts with labor in other countries, except in the case of Pan-American relations, or in supporting such a body as the International Labor Organization. Employers are on the whole opposed to the International Labor Organization. Interesting experimentation, however, in advanced industrial relations is going forward in certain industries inspired by conscious Christian idealism on the part of certain employers. The American Federation of Labor has recently adopted a policy of emphasis upon coöperation with management looking toward elimination of waste, and increased production and efficiency in industry.

The churches in America appear to have shown an increasing sensitiveness to the implications of the Christian Gospel with regard to industry. The position mainly accepted at the present time may be seen in the "social creeds" which have been formulated. The Federal Council of Churches adopted in 1912 a statement from which we take the following clauses dealing with industrial conditions:

"Abolition of child labor. Such regulation of the conditions of toil for women as shall safeguard the physical and moral health of the community. Abatement and prevention of poverty.

"Protection of the worker from dangerous machinery, occupational diseases, and mortality. The right of all men to the opportunity for self-maintenance, for safeguarding this right against encroachments of every kind, for the protection of workers from the hardships of enforced unemployment.

"Suitable provision for the old age of the workers, and for those incapacitated by injury.

"The right of employees and employers alike to organize; and adequate means of conciliation and arbitration in industrial disputes. Release from employment one day in seven. Gradual and reasonable reduction of hours of labor to the lowest practicable point, and that degree of leisure for all which is a condition of the highest human life.

"A living wage as a minimum in every industry, and the highest wage that each industry can afford.

"A new emphasis upon the application of Christian principles to the acquisition and use of property, and the most equitable division of the product of industry that can ultimately be devised."

The full statement became known as the Social Ideals of the Churches. In 1919, the Federal Council adopted the following additional statement, which has become, in effect, a part of the Social Ideals:

"Facing the social issues involved in reconstruction,

"*Resolved*, That we affirm as Christian churches,

"1. That the teachings of Jesus are those of essential democracy and express themselves through brotherhood and the coöperation of all groups. We deplore class struggle and declare against all class domination whether of capital or labor. Sympathizing with labor's desire for a better day and an equitable share in the profits and management of industry, we stand for orderly and progressive social reconstruction instead of revolution by violence.

"2. That an ordered and constructive democracy in industry is as necessary as political democracy, and that collective bargaining and the sharing of shop control and management are inevitable steps in its attainment.

"3. That the first charge upon industry should be that of a wage sufficient to support an American standard of living. To that end we advocate the guarantee of a minimum wage, the control of unemployment through government labor exchanges, public works, land settlement, social

insurance, and experimentation in profit sharing and coöperative ownership.

"4. We believe that women should have full political and economic equality with equal pay for equal work, and a maximum eight-hour day. We declare for the abolition of night work by women, and the abolition of child labor; and for the provision of adequate safeguards to insure the moral as well as the physical health of the mothers and children of the race."

These pronouncements of the Federal Council carry the implied endorsement of its constituent bodies, some of which have made very liberal pronouncements on their own account. The Methodist Episcopal, Presbyterian (North), Baptist (North), Congregational, and Protestant Episcopal Churches have pronounced quite positively and specifically on such controversial questions as collective bargaining, representation in management, and the limitation of the profit motive. These are the questions about which controversy is most acute in America, rather than those which have to do directly with wages and conditions of work.

The Roman Catholic Church has been more aggressively liberal with reference to industry than any other American communion. The "Bishops' Program of Social Reconstruction," issued in 1919, based upon the famous Encyclical of Pope Leo, "On the Condition of the Working Classes," is perhaps the most significant reconstruction document issued in America. After enumerating the advantages of the present economic system, the Bishops' Program characterizes its unchristian aspects in these words: "Its main defects are three: Enormous inefficiency and waste in the production and distribution of commodities; insufficient incomes for the great majority of wage-earners; and unnecessarily large incomes for a small minority of privileged capitalists." By way of remedy it enumerates many salutary measures, but adds that "the full possibilities of increased production will not be realized so long as the majority of workers remain mere wage-earners. The majority must somehow become owners, or at least in part, of the instruments of

production. They can be enabled to reach this stage gradually through coöperative productive societies and co-partnership arrangements. In the former, the workers own and manage the industries themselves; in the latter they own a substantial part of the corporate stock and exercise a reasonable share in the management. However slow the attainments of these ends, they will have to be reached before we can have a thoroughly efficient system of production, or an industrial and social order that will be secure from the danger of revolution. It is to be noted that this particular modification of the existing order, though far-reaching and involving to a great extent the abolition of the wage system, would not mean the abolition of private ownership. The instruments of production would still be owned by individuals, not by the State."

Of research and educational agencies connected with religious bodies and dealing with the industrial question there are many in America. The Federal Council of Churches has a department of research and education. The Young Women's Christian Association has been very prominent in this field, and established close contacts with the working women. The Young Men's Christian Association also gives some attention to the question, though in less close contact with the labor movement. There are many church organizations, such as the Methodist Federation for Social Service, the Church League for Industrial Democracy, and others, which endeavor to carry on among church-members a campaign of education and to mould public opinion with regard to labor questions. The Inquiry is a movement of recent development, founded in 1922 with the object of enlisting people of all diversities of interest and faith in the re-thinking of the meaning of Christianity for human relationships to-day.

Ten major national denominations have social service commissions, eight of them employing full-time secretaries. The Federal Council of Churches maintains a Social Service Commission with staff. The Catholics maintain a Social Action Department with paid staff, and the Jews a Social

Justice Commission. All these commissions carry out programs of education on social and industrial problems among their members, conduct conferences, issue literature, and occasionally undertake mediation in industrial disputes.

In Great Britain there has been during the last generation a very marked quickening in the sense of responsibility on the part of the Church in all its branches for social well-being. The problems have been such as could not be ignored. The immense increase in wealth which the Industrial Revolution brought to England was attended by a great inequality in distribution, and by a widespread degraded condition of life for the working people, from which the combined forces of labor legislation (e.g., the Factory Acts), of trade-union activity, and of awakened public opinion are only now beginning to rescue the country. The great external difference between all European countries and the United States, a difference which conditions their respective records in and attitude towards the uplifting of labor, is the near approach of the United States to being a self-supporting industrial community with a vast home market secure to its industries, together with the immense room still left for expansion in contrast with the crowded conditions of the countries of Europe. In the European countries, divided by a multiplicity of tariff and other economic barriers, and crowded to the doors, the industrial problem has both been more urgent and difficult and has received more continuous attention from all kinds of bodies, official and private, religious and non-religious, than in America. In particular, the class struggle has become a fact in European life, and overshadows in many minds all other political and social facts and issues.

We cannot do better, so far as Britain is concerned, than to point attention to the reports of the Conference on Christian Politics, Economics, and Citizenship, familiarly known by its initials as C. O. P. E. C., held in Birmingham in 1924, as the best and most accessible and compendious account of the social problem as it is seen in England by Chris-

tian men and women, and of the lines of action which the Church in that country, in all its different branches, is pursuing with regard to it. The reports are twelve in number, and deal with (1) the Nature of God and His Purpose for the World, (2) Education, (3) the Home, (4) the Relation of the Sexes, (5) Leisure, (6) the Treatment of Crime, (7) International Relations, (8) Christianity and War, (9) Industry and Property, (10) Politics and Citizenship, (11) The Social Function of the Church, and (12) Historical Illustrations of the Social Effects of Christianity. Of these the last four bear most closely upon the subjects discussed in this report, and abundantly repay study, for they do not deal merely with an analysis of conditions in England but penetrate to the principles which ought to govern action.

We may perhaps take from the C. O. P. E. C. discussion on Industry and Property an analysis of the problem. It begins by defining as the major evils the gross inequality of wealth with all that it means of instability, as well as often squalor of living, to the working class. It points to the human effects of confining the control of industry, to which capital, labor, and management are essential, to the first and last alone. It points out that wages are too often below the standard of decent life. It shows the special disabilities under which women suffer in industry, and welcoming the prohibition of child labor below the age of fourteen[1] urges the further raising of the school age as necessary for the community. It goes to the heart of the matter in pointing out the power conferred by the industrial system on some persons over the lives of others, and deals with unemployment and the prevalence in industry of the spirit of strife and class warfare. We may perhaps quote the statement of direct objectives which are set forth as claiming the allegiance of the Church:

"(1) The ultimate aim of Christians with regard to industry and commerce should be the substitution of the motive of service for the motive of gain.

[1] Children of twelve and upwards may still be employed under local by-laws in certain occupations before and after school hours.

"(2) Industry should be a coöperative effort adequately to supply the needs of all. This does not involve one particular type of organization universally applied. It does involve a perpetual effort to find the organization best suited to each industry.

"(3) Industry should be so organized that all those engaged in it shall have an increasingly effective voice in determining the conditions of their work and lives.

"(4) The first charge upon industry should be a remuneration sufficient to maintain the worker and his family in health and dignity.

"(5) The evils of unemployment are intolerable to the moral sense. The causes must be sought and removed.

"(6) Extremes of wealth and poverty are likewise intolerable. A Christian order involves a juster distribution.

"(7) The moral justification of the various rights which constitute property depends on the degree to which they contribute to the development of personality and to the good of the whole community. If such rights subserve those purposes they deserve the approval of Christians; if not they should be modified or abolished.

"(8) The duty of service is equally obligatory upon all. No inherited wealth or position can dispense any member of the Christian society from establishing by service his claim to maintenance."

The report on the Social Function of the Church contains detailed discussions of the different ways in which organized Christian communions can serve to interpret and translate into reality the social principles which are found in the Gospel of Christ. We may here note, and return to it at a later point, that the Church itself as a fellowship has by its own life, if it is true to its charter, the opportunity to play a distinctive and invaluable part in social redemption. We perhaps think too much of what the Church should *do*, in the way of activities external to its own organization, and not sufficiently of what it can *be*, as an earnest in the world of the divine order of things.

To those who are giving thought to the application of the Christian ethic to industrial development in the East and in Africa the last of the C. O. P. E. C. reports, on the historical aspect of the subject, will, perhaps, be not the least rewarding. It has been suggested above that our modern world is returning to a comprehensive Christian ethical outlook which the Middle Ages, with their narrower stage, possessed and later Christianity lost. The study of earlier Christian history will be therefore highly suggestive. "With greater or less persistence and courage at different periods, the Church has endeavored to make the idea of the Kingdom of God mean something real and practical in the ordering of the world's industrial and political life. The greater its spiritual vitality at any time, the more has this been the case: revival has always led ultimately to social transformation. Thus history as well as exegesis attest the point that the religion of Christ must bring the whole of the collective as well as of the individual life of man within its sway."

As in the United States, there are in Great Britain a wealth of organizations connected more or less closely with the Church which concern themselves with the task of social regeneration. Every Christian denomination has a social service association attached to it, and out of the collective work of these C. O. P. E. C. sprang. A Church Social Council is now being organized, to place on a permanent basis the interdenominational social Christian movement. The Industrial Christian Fellowship has become in recent months especially prominent, and the Workers' Educational Association, while a secular body, enjoys the active coöperation of many people in the churches who realize the immense importance of a working-class educational movement, and has also been influentially supported in the universities.

It may be added as one of the facts that to a considerable extent differentiate Great Britain from the United States and still more from the Continental countries, that there has been a close relationship between the Church and the Labor movement, not officially but in actual membership.

A leading Labor intellectual remarked to the writer, "When I go to a miners' lodge I find that those of them who are not church-wardens are Sunday-school teachers." In the exaggeration there is great truth, and it is this fact that explains much that is difficult for others to understand in the attitude both of the British denominations and of the British Labor movement to the problem of social justice.

In regard to the churches of Continental Europe and their attitude towards this subject, perhaps the most important point to which attention can be directed is the Universal Conference on Life and Work, held at Stockholm in 1925. To this gathering practically all Christian communions except the Roman Catholic Church sent representatives. In the United States it would not appear that the gathering had much influence, and in Great Britain, which supported it cordially, the influence of "Stockholm" more or less coincided with that of C. O. P. E. C. To many of the Protestant Christians on the Continent the gathering meant a new emphasis on an aspect of the Christian obligation too often neglected. The conference set up a Continuation Committee which proposes to itself a continuous program of work, related to the different national unions of Christian social service organizations. We may here notice that these exist in Germany, Sweden, and Denmark, as well as in Great Britain and America, and that in other countries correspondents have been appointed. Two outcomes of the Stockholm gathering are of some significance for our present inquiry. One is a meeting of German and British theologians held at Canterbury early in 1927, to discuss the nature of the Kingdom of God and its relationship to human society. To some this may seem a somewhat unimportant excursion into the academic, but the truth is that no thorough, radical, courageous, and Christian movement in social affairs will ever be developed in Europe or anywhere else without a basis of principle, and it is undeniable that one element of difficulty in the past has been the fact that such activities have appeared, in the eyes of

a powerful school of Christian thinkers, unbiblical and unchristian.

The second outcome is the establishment, now definitely assured, of a Bureau and Institute of Social Research, to be set up at Geneva. The objects of this Institute are:

"(1) To study in the light of Christian ethics by strictly scientific methods the social and industrial facts and problems in the widest sense, so as to gain a clear understanding of the application of the Christian principle to those problems, and to formulate the axioms which should regulate practical conduct.

"(2) It should be the center for mutual knowledge, correlation, and coöperation of all socially active Christian organizations in the different religious communions and countries.

"(3) It should be a center of information by which the exchange will be facilitated of knowledge, experience, and methods, which can be serviceable to the churches in their social-ethical tasks."

It is not unnatural that this movement, which we may for convenience designate as "Stockholm," should so far have given almost no attention to the social and industrial problems of the East and of Africa, for it has been engrossed in nearer affairs. Probably this emphasis will continue for a considerable time. It is nevertheless very greatly to be desired that this Institute, focusing, as we hope it will, the social thinking of a great part of the Christian world, including the Orthodox Church of the East, should be in close contact with the missionary forces of the Church in whatever increasing attention they may be led to give to this problem in Eastern lands, and still more with the churches in the East themselves. That the International Missionary Council has a part to play here can hardly be doubted.

IV. INDIA [1]

It is one of the paradoxes of India that, while she is one of the eight premier industrial nations of the world, she is not

[1] I have ventured to repeat here some paragraphs in a pamphlet,

an industrial nation at all. She is an agricultural nation, and seventy-three per cent. of her population are engaged in agriculture and stock-raising. Yet she is so great and vast a country that the growth of modern industry in recent years has already raised her to the position of a great industrial nation, while yet she is a land of three-quarters of a million of villages.

There has, of course, always been industry in India; both the simple village industries ancillary to the great staple occupation of the people, agriculture, and also specialized industries calling for the developed skill of the craftsman, and patronized by the courts of rajahs and emperors. When, however, we speak of the problems of modern industry in India, it is not these that are meant but the aggregations in certain areas of industries which have a range far beyond the needs of the village and share in the ebb and flow of world trade. Such are the cotton tracts in Central India and the cotton mills of Bombay and Ahmedabad, the jute areas in Bengal and the jute factories along the River Hooghly, great up-country manufacturing towns like Cawnpore or Amritsar, centers of distribution like Delhi, the coal and iron fields of the edges of Bengal and Bihar, the tea districts in Assam and on the slopes of the Himalaya and the hills in the south, the cotton mills of Madras and Madura, the gold mines of Mysore. It is not only the factory chimney that speaks eloquently of the hand of modern industry in India, but the great broad acres of jute or cotton, grown extensively in those areas where conditions are favorable, in answer to the call of a world demand. Both the present extent and the rapid growth of Indian industry demand attention. In the year 1915 the total number of persons employed in textile industries was about 1,000,000. In 1924 it had risen to a 1,500,000 employed daily. In 1915 the number of factories in British India subject to the Factories Acts was 2,922, whereas in the year 1924 it was 6,406, an increase partly accounted for by the extension of the Act

Industrialism in India, published in the series of Present-day Papers for C. O. P. E. C. in 1927. W.P.

to smaller factories, but none the less remarkable. The increase in the numbers of persons employed in the mining industry has been nearly as remarkable.

Before we come to consider in any detail Indian industrial conditions, we have to realize one fact, familiar to all who know India: namely, that there is in the industrialized areas of India hardly any industrial population in the strict sense of the word. There is a population of agricultural workers who spend part of the year in industry. People come into the factories and mines for different reasons. Some have found it impossible to get a livelihood on the land, perhaps owing to the "fragmentation" of holdings, or the growth of the family to which the little plot belongs. The lure of alleged high wages in the cities brings others; others, again, some trouble with the caste or social group. But in very many cases the man who comes will leave his wife, or the two will leave some members of the family behind to maintain their footing in the village, and at harvest time and marriage time there will be an exodus back again to the village home, which exercises a power over the Indian mind at least as great as the thought of "Home" does upon the wandering Briton. This oscillation between town and country is in a way a protection to the workman, for in time of poor trade, strikes, or lock-outs he is not solely dependent on the mine or factory: he is an agriculturist also. Nevertheless, the very high percentage of labor turnover—in one Bengal jute mill, and a well-managed one at that, it was estimated that the entire labor force changed completely in eighteen months—militates against the improvement of conditions, while being itself accentuated by bad conditions, especially of housing. It is a vicious circle. The point, however, to which attention is drawn here is the effect on a rural society of the withdrawal of some of its members into the utterly different environment of the mine or factory, together with their intermittent return, and the effect on the agriculturist of being gradually turned into a person who is neither a part of the ancient village economy with its tradition and sanctions nor yet fully integrated into an urban society.

To those who look deeper into social problems than hours and wages alone these questions of the relation of the individual to society in the new and changing world afford much anxiety.

The saddest of the accompaniments of modern industry in India has been the vile housing of the operatives in some of the great centers. The worst is Bombay, but Calcutta, Cawnpore, Ahmedabad, and the others are all bad, and bad, be it remembered, not only by Western but by Indian standards. In Bombay the average number of rooms to the family is one, but there are numerous instances of four, five, or even six families being packed into one room. Land is dear, and the publicity given to the Bombay Development Scheme and the immense sums spent on it show how terrible is the problem to be solved when industry has leapt ahead of housing, town-planning, and sanitation. The result is, among other things, the appalling infantile death-rate of Bombay, sixty-six per cent. for the whole city as compared with about fifteen per cent. for the Presidency as a whole.

We may note further in connection with health and housing the disturbing and ominous fact that while in the rest of the world, led by England and Denmark, the tuberculosis death-rate is steadily decreasing, in the tropical countries it is increasing and not least in India. There can be little doubt (though the subject has not been exhaustively examined) that the crowding of families into insanitary dwellings in the big towns is one cause of the increase of tuberculosis, and may lead also to the increase of the disease in the country districts as the working population flows to and fro in the way described above.

In the coal-mining areas the housing has been very bad and is still backward, but the Boards of Health established in Jheria and Asansol, under the Bihar and Bengal Governments respectively, have statutory powers and have laid down certain minimum requirements for mining cottages with which in 1929 all mining housing is to comply. It is already being seen in the Jheria coal-field that the aboriginal

miners are eager to retain possession of the new houses, and if called back to the village will try to leave one behind to keep their hold on the house. In the Bengal jute mills about one-third of the operatives are housed in mill-owned property, which is at least enormously better than the foul *bastis* in which the remainder live, hovels often owned by the *sirdar*, the overseer who has probably recruited the people from their village and pays them on behalf of the firm.

Wages are higher in money value than anything the laborer can earn in the village. The average daily earnings in the Bombay cotton mills were given in 1921 by the Wages and Hours Enquiry as for men, R. 1.5.6, for women, annas 10.9, and for children, annas 11.1, or in rough English equivalents, for men 2s., for women 11d., and for children 11½d. But rents are high—figures for the controlled rents of Bombay show that Rs. 3½ to 5½ is charged monthly for single rooms, and in the tenements of the Development Trust Rs. 10 to 15. Food charges alone take from fifty-six to sixty-eight per cent. of the total budget. It is significant that in regions like Bengal where rainfall is steady and agriculture a fairly reliable occupation as compared, for example, with that in the famine-stricken Deccan, Bengalis do not go much into the jute mills, and more into the ranks of skilled workers than of the unskilled. Factories, that is to say, do not offer a better prospect than village life where it is prosperous, or reasonably so, but they do offer a better prospect than being crowded off the land or reduced by famine.

The principal line taken by labor legislation in India has been limitation of hours and limitation of the age of labor. The 1891 Factory Act defined a factory as a place employing not fewer than fifty persons, limited the work of women to eleven hours a day, and that of children, who might work half-time from nine until fourteen years of age, to seven hours. Both women and children were protected against night work. In the Factory Act of 1911 adult labor was limited to twelve hours' work a day, a compulsory interval after six hours' continuous work provided, and the hours for children brought down from seven to six. The latest Act,

of 1922, limits the hours of all adult labor to eleven, prescribes a sixty-hour week, prohibits children from being employed below the age of twelve, and permits only half-time labor up to fifteen years, and, not least important, lays down twenty as the number of employees constituting a factory, and permits local governments to lower the figure still further to ten.

In the mines children may not be employed below the age of thirteen, but above that age are counted as adult workers. For underground labor a week of fifty-four hours is prescribed. There are about 50,000 women working underground in mines, but after a long debate the exclusion of women from underground work has now been definitely decided; ten per cent. are to be withdrawn each year until in 1939 no women remain working underground.

A Workmen's Compensation Act was passed in 1923. Proposals have been made, notably by Mr. N. M. Joshi, in his Bill introduced into the Legislative Assembly in 1925, for the establishment of maternity benefit. This Bill was rejected, but it is possible that legislation will be passed in the near future. Already some of the better firms, including some of the tea-garden owners, have of their own initiative provided maternity benefit, comprising the payment of wages during and after confinement and a bonus if the child lives to the age of one year. Reports have been presented to the Bengal and Bombay Governments by two medical women appointed by them to investigate the subject, and it is ripe for action.

We may note here the value of the International Labor Organization to India. The Washington Convention of 1919, which was responsible for the Eight-Hour Day agreement (not yet ratified by the British Government), recognized the impossibility of adjusting Oriental standards of labor immediately to any such rule and invited India (and other countries enjoying similar conditions, such as Japan) to do four things. India was asked to prohibit night work for women, to prohibit child labor below the age of twelve, to fix a sixty-hour maximum working week, and to introduce

maternity benefit. It will be seen from what has been already written that of these objectives three have been attained, at least so far as legislation goes, and the fourth under consideration.

The points at which legislative advance is probably most needed in India now are the provision of maternity benefit and the prohibition of women's work during the weeks before and after confinement, the enlargement of the scope of the Factory Act so as to include smaller workshops, and the enactment of something similar to the English Truck Acts, to deal with the abuses of deferred pay and the vexatious imposition of fines. One of the greatest causes of the indebtedness of the workers is the system of deferred pay. There is, however, greater need in India for an increase in the inspecting staff than for an increase in legislation. The inspectorate needs to be enlarged and better equipped, which is a matter not only of money but of the supply and training of workers, including women.

Trade unions are a new growth in India, but by the new Act they are now to be registered and their functions defined and they have a great part to play in the India of the future. They will need to be protected against the danger of becoming dominated entirely by those who may use them for political ends, and it is to be remembered that in a country where the mass of labor is illiterate the inclusion of a considerable number of non-operatives in the management of the unions is absolutely necessary. But they have it in them to do for the city worker, by training him in self-help, what the agricultural coöperative societies have done for the villages in many places. There is a Trade Union Congress in India, but the most efficient of the unions (leaving aside the railway workers and postal clerks, whose literacy is high) is an unaffiliated one in Ahmedabad among the cotton workers, which owes its strength to the assiduous care of a very remarkable woman, Anasuya Sarabhai, and to the help of Mr. Gandhi.

Mention of the Mahatma raises the question whether his campaign against all mill-made goods and for a return

to a simple and more ancient way of life has any prospect of success, and whether it deserves to succeed. A greater contrast could not be presented than that between Mr. Gandhi with his spinning-wheel and simple home-spun garment and the Indian members of the Fiscal Commission of 1922, with their insistence on "the intense industrialization of India." It needs little argument to show that India cannot live on the spinning-wheel, but that home-spinning is an invaluable auxiliary industry for the village is absolutely true. For at least four months of the year the agricultural worker is idle, perforce, for there is nothing to do on the fields. To such Mr. Gandhi offers the spinning-wheel. We might prefer to say that some subsidiary village industry ought to be chosen, not necessarily spinning, but Mr. Gandhi knows that he has to win the ear of a vast uneducated public, and he has chosen a simple, easily understood, dramatic way of trying to do it.

There are many who realize that industrialism has come to stay in India, who, nevertheless, cannot but sympathize with the Mahatma in his crusade, for they realize the ghastly foulness with which industrial development has defiled some of the cities, and they wish, though they may doubt the possibility of it, that some reversion to simpler and more wholesome ideals of life were possible. The spinning-wheel to Mr. Gandhi has more than the economic significance of a simple industry auxiliary to agriculture. To him it has a spiritual meaning: it stands for freedom from the enchaining luxury of the West, for simplicity of life, for self-dependence.

The way forward, however, lies not in action which looks merely to the abolition of industrialism, for that is almost certainly impossible, but rather to the improving of village life and also of industrial conditions. If the villages are losing many of their best, it is because they are not attractive enough to hold them, and the development of village education and the regeneration of village life through the improvement of agriculture, the promotion of coöperation, and other ways, can do much to stay the rush to the towns. At the same time the improvement of village conditions is

bound to react on the industrial centers and to make it even more necessary than it now is to improve the conditions of labor there. If only for the selfish reason that labor must be got, the great manufacturers will find themselves compelled to improve conditions.

The Buckingham and Carnatic Mills in Madras and the British India Corporation, Cawnpore, present good examples of welfare work, of a type similar to that described above, and carried on by the firms themselves. The head of the welfare work in Cawnpore was until recently supplied by the American Presbyterian Mission.

A different type of activity is that carried on in Bombay by the American Marathi Mission in its community center in Byculla. Here service is rendered to workers in industries of various kinds. There is a hostel for young men (a much-needed thing in many large industrial centers), an employment bureau, dispensary, games for children and adults, library and reading room, night classes, together with that never-ceasing service of personal friendship which is the foundation of all such work everywhere and is the vehicle by which its religious purpose is expressed.

The growing sense among Christian people in India that the industrial problem in that country demands more thorough study on their part than it has received has resulted in the National Christian Council's undertaking, with the generous aid of the Institute of Social and Religious Research of New York, a comprehensive survey of the industrial field. The main object of this study, which is being led by Miss M. Cecile Matheson and aided by the Young Women's Christian Association and its Industrial Secretary, Miss Wingate, is to provide the materials for the development of a social policy for the church in India, to help in the education of public opinion on the industrial question, and to lead to the finding, training, and appointing of workers in the field of industrial service, whether under churches, or missions, or Y. M. C. A.'s and Y. W. C. A.'s, or under firms, or under other agencies. In doing so the Council has the cordial coöperation of such bodies as the Servants

of India Society and of individuals of diverse creeds who have already, often in comparative isolation, devoted themselves to the service of the industrial masses.

V. CHINA

Like India, and indeed even more than India, China is an agricultural country. As in India, also, the incoming of modern industry is a growing factor in national life. The greatest industrial area is Shanghai, with its cotton mills both Chinese and foreign, its tobacco concerns, engineering and iron-founding shops, and silk filatures. There are coal fields in the Peking province, steel-works and textiles in Wuhan, and in many other centers a variety of smaller industries. In Canton, for instance, there are cement works, and an electric light plant, a flour mill, a tannery, about seventeen match factories, thirty rice-hulling and cleaning factories, several dozens of silk filatures, some paper factories, and water-aerating plants. Reports from other port towns show similar conditions.

That the conditions of the workers in factories in China are extremely bad is well known, and it is one of the outstanding facts about the Chinese Revolution that throughout its course there has been a close alliance between the student class and the industrial workers, for whose cause the student class appears to have a genuine concern. The Child Labor Commission appointed by the Shanghai Municipal Council, to which we refer later, found *inter alia* that while the average monthly earnings of a workman of the coolie class are not more than fifteen dollars and may be much less, the average cost of living of a man and his wife, of the very poorest class, is not less than sixteen dollars a month; that the vast majority of Chinese children are made to start work at the earliest possible age, and that the industrial conditions promote tuberculosis among children; that many children were seen at work who could not be more than six years old, and that the hours of work were generally twelve, with one hour for a meal; that many children were virtually sold into industry

and lived under conditions amounting to slavery; that the sanitary conditions were rarely satisfactory; and many other things of which it is not easy to read. Such evidence as is available from other parts of China reveals conditions not dissimilar to these.

The growth of industrial conditions is followed by general social effects on the population. A report from the National Christian Council of China states that "considerable effect is noted by Chinese people upon national life and customs, due to the development of modern industry in China, even though the centers in which this is known are comparatively few. Large-scale production, though as yet limited, has made more goods available for sale, and is stimulating demands for a higher scale of living. The existence of larger stocks has stimulated the seeking of domestic markets and has therefore increased trade upon rivers and canals, and upon such railways as are existent. Thus there has been stimulated further a 'flow' of goods generally. The necessity for the aggregation of large sums of capital for the financing of big enterprises has made for modification of the former economic situation in China. Accumulations of 'primary capital' were little known previously. Investment was in the form of precious stones, etc. Now there is developing a modern banking system, in the more 'fluid money.' In national thinking, there is a growing materialism, replacing a former philosophic idealism, due to the vigorous competition of modern industry.

"The housing problem associated with all large cities is peculiarly acute: the lure of the steady factory wage has brought in many people from the country, and miserable hovels, old boats, or straw huts are the only residences which they can find on the fringes of the city. Aggregations of people thus have increased the death-rate and infant mortality (epidemic disease spreads with more rapidity), have increased crime and lowered the moral tone of the people generally. In family relationships this means the breaking up of the old family system, and the consequent loosening of old moral standards. Marriage age is postponed; divorce is

more frequent. Some women are refusing to marry, preferring a growing financial independence. Women and children work outside the home, in large factories, and the effect on home life is obvious. New recreative demands begin to emerge from the people: 'movies' become a real goal. Aggregation of workers further means increasing group consciousness, with desire for use of group methods toward improvement of life—and the labor movement in the modern sense of the word begins to emerge.

"Thus new and real social problems are arising in China—problems arising from the absence of women from home, from child labor, from an emerging labor movement, from a need for better efficiency in work, if an international competition is to be met.

"The development of modern industry has gone hand in hand with the inflow of new ideas to areas which had previously little contact with the outside world. People tend to be less suspicious and less conservative, which, in the end, will have its effect upon the superstition which is the basis of religious thought of the mass of the people. A growing materialism may not, however, turn this modification of superstition into constructive religious channels. The religious tradition of China has been a thing apart, with little influence upon conduct. Thus it will be obvious that it has played no part in the development of modern industry."

The organization of labor unions, a development of the old Chinese guilds, has become a notable feature of revolutionary China. Probably few if any of them have yet as a basis any real understanding of the principles which must underlie a trade union if it is to fulfil a useful function. It would, on the other hand, be wrong to assume that they are merely political bodies. They were granted the right of "freedom of association" in the Kwangtung province, but not elsewhere, and in the north trade-union leaders were suppressed and in at least one case several executed. Their activities in southern China were mainly concerned with conditions of life, though they have also been used by

political leaders for purely political ends. To some extent the repression of the unions has made them more political and more extreme. It is also certain that the communist influence, ebbing and flowing as it has done with the changing conditions of political leadership, has used the unions not only for purely political ends, but as a means of spreading class hatred. When all is said, however, it is noticeable that the Christian leaders, as we shall see later, regard coöperation with the labor movement as desirable, and consider that it has within it the possibility of much good for the laboring classes.

It will readily be understood that the conditions which make possible labor legislation and the enforcement of labor laws in China do not at present exist over a considerable part of the country, and it would, therefore, be absurd to look for an elaborate framework of legal provision. The International Labor Conference at Washington in 1919 dealt separately with China (as with India and Japan) and in its minute stated that "it attaches great importance to the acceptance by the Chinese Government of the principle of the protection of labor by factory legislation. It further suggests that a beginning should be made as soon as possible in the framing and administration of such legislation with reference to such important industry as now exists. The Commission therefore proposed that China be asked to adhere to the principle of the protection of labor by factory legislation, and that, further, the Chinese Government be asked to report to the Conference next year in what way it is prepared to apply that principle. It suggests for the consideration of the Chinese Government the possibility of adopting a convention embodying the principle of a ten-hour day or sixty-hour week for adult workers and an eight-hour day or a forty-eight-hour week for employed persons under fifteen years of age; and embodying also the principle of a weekly rest day. It suggests that all factories employing over 100 workers should come within the scope of the projected legislation."

In 1923 the Chinese Government informed the Interna-

tional Labor Office that special sections dealing with labor questions had been set up in the Ministries of Agriculture, Commerce, Communications, and the Interior at Peking, and that Factory Regulations had been issued by the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce on March 29, 1923. It was further indicated that these regulations would ultimately be replaced by an Act for the protection of the workers. The Regulations apply to factories which employ not fewer than 100 workers, or are dangerous or are unhealthful. Foreign factories established on Chinese soil are covered by the Regulations. Employers shall not engage boys under ten or girls under twelve years of age. Boys under seventeen and girls under eighteen shall be worked for only eight hours a day, and adults for ten hours. Young persons shall not be employed at night. Adult workers shall be insured at least two rest days each month. Employers shall see that young persons and adults who have not completed their education are provided with facilities in the factories, and shall bear the cost of such education. Employers shall reduce or suspend the employment of sick or injured workers, and shall bear the cost of treatment for injured workers, and shall not reduce the wages of persons who fall sick or are injured in the course of their employment. A rest period of five weeks and a suitable allowance shall be granted to every woman worker before and after childbirth. The requisite steps shall be taken in every factory to avert danger and to protect the health of the workers.

These regulations accept the principle of factory legislation: they accept practically in full the suggestions made by the Washington Conference, and they go in certain respects beyond them. They came nominally into force on the day they were promulgated, but so far no legislative act has replaced them and they remain in the nature of an executive decree. No sanctions for the enforcement of these regulations have been adopted.

The other main effort in the direction of factory reform has been made in Shanghai through the Child Labor Commission. This piece of work has perhaps received greater

publicity than any other industrial reform movement in recent years in any part of the world. The Commission was appointed in June, 1923, and reported in July, 1924.

Its findings were in certain respects different from the Regulations of the Peking Government: in some respects they went beyond those Regulations; in others a less stringent rule was proposed, on the ground that anything more would in practice inevitably be a dead letter for the time being. The main recommendations were these: The employment of children below the age of ten was to be prohibited, and within four years the minimum age was to be raised to twelve. There should be prohibition of the labor of children under fourteen years of age in factories for a longer period than twelve hours out of twenty-four, such period of twelve hours to include a compulsory rest of one hour. Night work for children was regarded as a serious evil, and though in view of practical difficulties the Commission did not propose its immediate abolition, it asked that the matter be again raised after four years. Every child should have twenty-four hours' continuous rest from work in at least every fourteen days. Children were to be protected from employment in dangerous places, or at dangerous unguarded machines, or at work hazardous to health. Steps were taken to deal with proof of age in doubtful cases. "Factory" was defined as meaning a place where ten or more persons are employed. Inspection and penalties were provided.

The Commission also expressed its willingness to accept and enforce the Peking Government Regulations provided they could be redrafted to meet certain objections felt to them.

The views of the Child Labor Commission, however, have received even less practical expression than those of the Peking Government. The Municipality of Shanghai, for reasons which need not be given here, has so far failed to provide a quorum for the discussion of the necessary by-laws, and in spite of all that has been done to press the claims of the child-workers no official action has yet been taken.

In 1925 the Cantonese Government issued regulations concerning the recognition and registration of trade unions. By these, trade unions were given a legal status, and the right of association was recognized. Further, the right of collective bargaining and the right to strike were given to the unions.

In 1927, in the Labor Department of the Municipality of Greater Shanghai, a similar series of regulations recognizing the right of association of workers was promulgated. A further "law," making provision of machinery for arbitration and conciliation in matters of labor dispute, has been issued and is being acted upon.

Since then Marshal Feng has enacted factory legislation for the provinces of Kansu and Shensi, and the victorious Nationalists have extended their trade union legislation to Hupeh and the districts of Shanghai and Nanking. They have decreed the emancipation of the young servants, whose position on the border-line of slavery has been often discussed and have given other evidence of their good intentions in regard to labor.

It cannot be said that so far this legislation is likely to have been put into complete operation, but as steps to that end the recent creation of a Labor Institute as an organ of research, and the establishment of conciliation and arbitration boards and committees for the elaboration of labor legislation, all working in close contact with a Government Labor Office, are to be noted.

The principles to which the Nationalist party, now the de-facto government of China, gives adherence, in matters relating to labor, were evolved from a National Conference of the Kuomintang in August, 1926, in Canton, and are stated below:

1. To enact labor legislation.
2. To enact an eight-hour day, and to prohibit work for longer than ten hours daily.
3. To work for a minimum wage.
4. To prohibit the use of child labor, the age limit being fourteen years.

5. To modify the existing apprenticeship system.

6. To provide for payment for sixty days for women workers at the time of childbirth.

7. To improve sanitation in industrial plants and to avert industrial accidents.

8. To provide for freedom of association, speech, and press for all workers.

9. To advocate manhood suffrage.

10. To promote workers' education.

11. To promote coöperative societies.

12. To control conditions of "contract work," or farming out of work to home workers.

13. To recognize the legal status of trade unions.

14. To assist effective organizations of workers.

15. To obtain payment for workers for rest days and holidays.

So far the evidence seems to point to an active desire on the part of the new Government to carry this program into effect.

Unusual importance must attach to the actions of voluntary and unofficial organizations in regard to the improvement of industrial conditions when the framework of national labor legislation is very largely absent. We have received the following account of the line of development in regard to the industrial question taken by the Christian bodies in China so far as they have acted through the National Christian Council.

"The first outstanding characteristic of industrial work by Christian agencies in China is that it has to a large extent been coöperative effort. The first National Christian Conference in 1922 expressed its concern and its immediate aims regarding industrial conditions, and following that a united policy was worked out by a standing committee of the National Christian Council. There was, however, no attempt to centralize the work unduly. Local union industrial committees were formed, representing the united Christian forces of the city, including the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A., and attempting to view the work as a whole, but distinctive

pieces of work were sometimes, though rarely, undertaken by separate units. The existence of a committee in the N. C. C. provided an agency for stimulating and guiding efforts and most of all for the preparation and dissemination of literature, as well as the calling of conferences.

"The second characteristic is that the Christian Church of China has always interpreted its task in terms of something broader and deeper than the 'welfare of industrial workers.' Since the first charge laid upon the Christians of the country by the National Conference was the regulation of child labor, the enforcing of one day's rest in seven, and the safeguarding of the life and health of workers, it was natural that effort should first be directed toward the accomplishment of these ends. Whether change should come through voluntary effort of employers or through legislation, a prerequisite was public opinion. A program of education was therefore undertaken, both extensive and intensive, directed primarily toward these aims, but including also within its scope other problems of industrial conditions. For example, a campaign to institute a child-labor law was conducted in one city, and while because of international complications the matter failed to come to fruition, yet a conviction had been created that issued in reform in various places. Again, the promulgation of the first factory laws by the Peking Government, although they were not enforced, can be directly traced to the interest produced by a campaign of publicity.

"The Church has, however, found itself challenged to a wider task than the immediate changing of working conditions. The social revolution in China has meant the spread of radical economic theories which are questioning the very foundations of social organization. In the ensuing bewilderment and uncertainty, men everywhere are looking for light and help in evolving a social philosophy. The Christian Church has been concerned with the task of social reconstruction, with the application of Christian principles to economic problems, with the evolving of a truly Christian social order. The most outstanding event in this line was a National Conference on Christianizing Economic Relations,

held under the N. C. C. in August, 1927, where Christians met and discussed for ten days their responsibility in regard to the improvement of industrial conditions and the Christian way of life in matters of property-holding, inheritance, the source and use of income, competition, etc.

"It should not be thought, however, that in the consideration of these larger issues there has been no thought for the immediate conditions of life of the workers. The Yangtzepoo Social Center, in connection with the Shanghai Baptist College, has conducted valuable work in education, and initiated an enterprise in industrial medical work later taken over by wider interests. This, and the cost-of-living study started by a Christian group in Shanghai and continued by a government bureau, show a desirable method of work—that is, a demonstration which may be continued and enlarged by community, employers, or government bodies. Another demonstration of this sort is the model village established by the Y. M. C. A. in the industrial district of Pootung, Shanghai. In the midst of indescribable living conditions, it is being shown that suitable housing can be provided at satisfactory rates. In Wuchang, an institutional church has been established in a factory district. Along with all these projects, there is going on the constant work of popular education, usually representing many forces in a city, but frequently having its root in Christian organizations. In Chefoo, for instance, the steady pursuance of such a program over a period of years is resulting in a literate working class, a rare thing in China. One would not leave this subject without mentioning the various small industrial enterprises which have been organized by Christian forces, usually having as their purpose the giving of work to destitute women, thus endeavoring to meet on a small scale the problem of the lack of production and resultant unemployment, and finding themselves engaged in the effort to conduct an industry on a Christian basis. Most prominent has been the work of the Anking Cross-stitch Coöperative, which has tried to work out a company in which the workers owned and controlled the industry."

We have received a copy of the findings of the National Christian Conference on the Christianizing of Economic Relations, and we think that some of them will be of special interest. The first seven deal with the general regulation of industry, the last with the particular duty of Christian individuals and associations:

"1. That the Conference endorse the principle of freedom of association for all workers.

"2. *a*. That the principle of payment of a minimum wage in all occupations based upon a cost of living, be endorsed.

b. That wages be paid in full, at regular intervals of time.

c. That, in determination of amount of wages above the minimum wage, the Conference advocates the principle that, after a just return has been made for the use and risk of capital, for the services of management, and allowing for legitimate activities of the business, all that remains of the net product of the industrial unit shall be at the disposal of the workers, either as wages or for re-investment in the business.

"3. That the principle of limitation of the length of the working day be approved, aiming, by gradual reduction, toward the adoption of an eight-hour day.

"4. That the Conference endorse the standard of one rest day in seven or its equivalent, with payment for rest time.

"5. That the Conference approve the principle of the abolition of child labor; and recommend the adoption of twelve years as the minimum age for employment, which shall be gradually raised.

"6. That the Conference endorse the principle of protection for women workers, involving prohibition of night work and work in dangerous trades for women and provision for absence from work with payment for a period of at least one month at the time of childbirth.

"7. That, working toward understanding between employer and employee, the formation of shop committees and arbitration boards be urged.

"8. That Christian individuals and institutions should

give attention to the following methods of achieving the standards advocated:

"*a*. To obtain trained workers for service among industrial workers, especially for coöperating with the labor movement.

"*b*. To negotiate—through combined efforts of the National Christian Council and the National Committees of the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A.—with educational institutions to provide courses in labor problems for training such special workers.

"*c*. To promote a vigorous program of workers' education, including education in social thinking, and, working toward a modification of the apprenticeship system, to encourage technical education.

"*d*. To encourage special study by pastors and preachers of the problems of labor, and further, to encourage them to obtain actual experience of the workers' life.

"*e*. To join in the patriotic movements for freedom and justice to the workers, to secure economic freedom for China, and to bring to an end all forms of economic exploitation.

"*f*. To promote efforts toward obtaining industrial legislation.

"*g*. To encourage employers to improve conditions of work, and to provide facilities for recreation, education, and insurance.

"*h*. To take steps, through the National Christian Council, toward making possible statistical inquiry into the cost of living in various parts in China.

"*i*. To hold Christians scrupulously to the above standards in employing labor and in making contracts."

A section of the report of this Conference deals with the general relations of Christianity to economic problems and urges Christians to study the present economic order and the bearing of the Christian spirit upon it. It particularly urges that Christians should give attention to the economic problems in their private lives in such matters as the source from which income is derived, the total amount of income con-

sidered necessary for their needs, the regular inclusion of items for philanthropy and religious obligations in the personal budget, the training of children in the conception of social service, and so on.

The conference was strongly of the opinion that, so far as it is possible, there should be coöperation with the labor movement. It was suggested that some of the special workers called for might pursue a policy of personal friendship with workers and labor leaders, fitting into their program wherever service might be given, rather than initiating a separate system of classes, etc. For legislation, it is of course necessary that the coöperation and interest of all public groups be enlisted.

In regard to personnel, it would seem that workers from abroad, besides being equipped with a broad college education and specialized study in economics such as would furnish them with a theoretical knowledge of economic subjects, should have experience in community movements, such as involve coöperation with various groups, the promotion of education toward the creation of public opinion or practice in the promotion of definite projects such as adult education, club work, etc. It is most desirable that such persons should have a first-hand contact with labor movements. For Chinese workers—and it is to be hoped that mission bodies will see their way clear to putting funds at the disposal of the Chinese for such workers—it is advisable to enlarge and strengthen the kind of training which is being provided at Yenching University (Peking). Here again experienced foreigners can be of great help in supervising the field work of students.

We append the recommendations specially made by this conference to the meeting of the International Missionary Council at Jerusalem:

"1. That there is an urgent need for more missionary work that will provide for the specific training of Christian rural leaders, and that will promote needed agricultural improvements to furnish the necessary economic basis for a higher standard of life.

"2. That there is need for more missionary work in the training of Christian industrial leaders for the purpose of bringing about favorable working conditions in all industries and promoting better relationships between employers and employees.

"3. That missionaries and Christian people they represent should exert their influence individually and collectively upon international trade, in order that trade which is harmful to the people of the buying countries may be restricted or abolished, while it is recognized that trade in useful commodities should be developed to the benefit of all concerned.

"4. That the missionary movement should use its influence to see that any foreign investments of capital in borrowing countries be made only on equitable terms of mutual benefit without any motive or possibility of political aggression.

"5. That when foreign industrial enterprises are established in countries where industrial conditions are less satisfactory, foreign employers should be encouraged to set a standard consistent with the best practices in their own countries and to use their influence toward the general applications of such standard.

"6. That the Christian Church should keep itself ready to coöperate with the labor movements which have for their chief objects the improvement of the working conditions and the uplifting of the laborers.

"7. That we call upon the Christian employers to experiment, even at large risks, to discover means of improving relations between employers and employees.

"8. That Christians of all countries should make special efforts in promoting mutual good understanding between their own people and the foreigners living among them.

"9. That Christians of all nations sympathize with and support the movements of the people of weaker nations in their struggle for emancipation."

VI. JAPAN

In Japan the industrial question is of prime importance to the national life, for Japan cannot possibly support her peo-

ple by agriculture, even though conducted on the most scientific and intensive lines, and emigration has been shown to be no solution. Only about seventeen per cent. of Japan is cultivable, as compared with ninety per cent. of Germany, and Japan has to feed over 400 persons to the square mile. As to emigration, the most significant fact that could be quoted is that the total number of Japanese in countries bordering on the Pacific is less than 300,000, whereas the annual net increase in Japan's population is 700,000.

In the face of this immense national problem there has grown up in recent years something like a conscious national determination to achieve a definite increase in the country's industrial capacity, in spite of the inadequacy of the supply of coal, iron, and other raw materials. This determination is reflected in the growth in the number of factories and of the industrial population. In 1909 there were 32,228 factories employing more than five persons. In 1921 there were 49,380, and in 1922, 46,427. The total number of factory employees in 1909 was 800,637 and in 1922, 1,691,-019. It is estimated that at least one-third of the population is in some way connected with industry or commerce.

The hesitancy shown by the representatives of Japan with regard to the proposals made at the first International Labor Conference at Washington for the international regulation of hours and conditions of labor is very intelligible. Her industries were in their infancy, their growth to maturity was essential to the life of the country, and the acceptance of restrictions might plausibly be represented as risking national security in order to satisfy the national *amour propre* and maintain the national reputation for progressiveness. The Japanese labor delegates strongly objected to any exceptions being made in Japan's case to the proposed world standards. It was, however, decided that the provision in the "labor covenant" of the Peace Treaty that "the [international labor] conference shall have due regard to those countries in which climatic conditions, the imperfect development of industrial organization, or other special circumstances make the industrial conditions substantially differ-

ent, and suggest the modifications, if any, which it considers may be required to meet the case of such countries" should be invoked with regard to Japan as in the case of India and China. The following modifications are the principal ones made. As compared with the Washington Convention forty-eight-hour week or eight-hour day, Japan was asked to enact a fifty-seven-hour week to apply to all persons over fifteen, the limit to be raised to sixty in the raw silk industry. For young persons under fifteen and miners working underground the forty-eight-hour week was to be observed, the minimum age of fifteen being raised to sixteen. A weekly rest day was to be compulsory for all workers. As compared with the Washington minimum of fourteen as the age of entering industry, Japan was to allow children over twelve to be employed if they had completed an elementary-school education, and to abolish work of any kind for children under twelve. As compared with the Washington standard of eighteen as the minimum age at which young persons might be employed on night work, Japan was to enact fifteen years and to raise it to sixteen after 1925.

In 1923 the Factory Act Amendment Act was passed, amending the previous and important Factory Act of 1911. This Amendment Act came into operation in 1926 and constitutes a considerable advance toward the desired Washington standard. The fifty-seven-hour week (sixty for the raw silk industry) for persons over fifteen is now in force. There is no legal restriction of the number of working hours each day (except in the case of women and children) but investigation shows that a working day of nine hours or less is in force in nearly half of the factories. Women and young persons below sixteen may not be employed for more than eleven hours. The new Minimum Age of Industrial Workers Act (which came into operation simultaneously with the Factory Act Amendment Act) provides that persons under fourteen years of age may not be employed in industry, except in the case of those who, being over the age of twelve, have completed a course in an elementary school.

Japan has not yet ratified the Washington Convention

regarding the night work of women and young persons, but the Factory Act Amendment Act enacts that young persons below the age of sixteen and women shall not be employed between the hours of 10 p. m. and 5 a. m., "provided that such persons may be employed until 11 p. m. with the sanction of the authorities."

Japan has shown her profound concern in the matter of international labor legislation by not only being represented at the annual conferences of the International Labor Organization by a full delegation, but by establishing at Geneva a permanent delegation attached to the International Labor Office. In addition to this, she has established the *Shakai Kyoku*, or Social Affairs Bureau, whose function is to deal with labor problems, including matters relating to the International Labor Organization, and among other things, with the enforcement of the Factory Act and the laws giving effect to the international labor conventions. The Bureau is under the direction of the Home Minister and has virtually the status of a separate ministry. It conducts the inspection of factories and mines, looks after social insurance, relief and charity, unemployment, child-protection, and social work in general, and is also responsible for the preparation of new labor legislation. The drafts of labor laws prepared by this Bureau are known to be more progressive than those of other departments of the government, and the activities of the Bureau in promoting advanced legislation are attracting public attention.

Trade unionism has become a very prominent factor in the social world of Japan. Apparently the International Labor Conferences have been indirectly responsible for some part of this growth. The Japan "workers' delegate" was at first appointed, in spite of protests from the workers, by the government, but in 1924 the government took the important step of allowing the workers' delegate to be appointed by the workers organized in unions of more than 1,000 membership. The membership of the unions doubled within a year. The General Federation of Japanese Labor has now decided to coöperate with the I. L. O., and its president, Mr. Suzuki,

has on several occasions represented the Japanese workers at the Geneva conferences.

The trade-union work has been torn by dissensions between different organizations of the unions, into which it is needless to enter here. They have also been subject to considerable official repression, which has resulted in an increase in the influence of the left wing and the spreading of communist doctrines, which are also influential among students. A bill is now being discussed in the Diet for the recognition and regulation of trade unions, but it is felt by some of the disinterested friends of labor that it might almost be better if the bill were not passed, since as much freedom as the bill would give is already possessed, and a more liberal bill might be looked for in the future.

The Christian Church in Japan has given some notable leaders to the cause of industrial redemption, but the church as a whole has stood somewhat aloof. Mr. Toyohiko Kagawa is known not only throughout Japan but throughout the world for his unselfish and self-sacrificing labors in the cause of the poor and the oppressed; he is perhaps more of a St. Francis than a labor leader in the strict sense of the word. Of the missionary force one may quote the example of Miss Caroline Macdonald, who has for years lived in the industrial region of Tokyo and identified herself in multitudinous ways of service with the cause of the uplift of the industrial masses. An article by the Reverend T. Kagawa in the Japan *National Christian Council Monthly* says:

"The church as a whole has been extremely indifferent to the emerging industrial revolution. The church has, to be sure, sent out many individuals who have become leaders in social movements, but most of them have withdrawn from the church because they were indignant at the pitying indifference and averted gaze of the church toward industry. . . .

"This is a fact that calls for careful consideration. One reason is that the church is still young. Another is that it is distressingly attached to creeds, and its apologetic has had little relation to practical life. As a result there is little to

choose between the position held by the church and that held by Buddhist temples. . . .

". . . Laborers increasingly are pulling away from the churches which are so largely based on the middle class. Furthermore, the anti-religious movement in Russia has been communicated to Japan and has led to a growing tendency among Japanese social leaders to take the same attitude.

"All these things deserve the most careful attention by Christian leaders."

Mr. Kagawa writes further in the same paper:

"The industrial system in Japan is exactly like that in the West. They both rest on capitalism, and when capitalistic industry came to Japan, European social ideas inevitably came with it. Ideas from every part of the world are flowing into Japan. Anarchism, such as is unknown in America, is taking shape in a strong movement here. The execution of certain anarchists a few years ago has not checked but rather accelerated the growth of the movement.

"But the ideas that are gaining most influence are those of Russian communism. Its propagation is being carried to every part of the country and its organization is being hastened by the fiercest methods.

"Italian Fascism also has its advocates in Japan. . . . Then there are many nationalists who have formed a counter-movement, prepared to use even violent methods against the extreme ideas.

"There are also those who espouse the doctrines of capitalistic freedom and *laissez faire* in the name of economic science."

It is not difficult to discern in these remarks and in the background of fact which we have very briefly sketched the struggles of a nation with a new social order, and the turning of men this way and that in search of a guiding social principle. As in some other countries, the attraction of communism lies in its apparently more serious facing of the appalling diversities of wealth and poverty and the evils which befall the workers under the existing systems. One

need only add here that the duty of Christians is, if not to identify themselves with a party slogan, at least to show that they are not behind any in their sensitiveness to oppression and injustice, and that in the spirit and the teaching of the Master whom they worship there is life for society and justice for the weak.

The Japanese delegates to the Jerusalem meeting brought with them a series of statements prepared as the result of discussion in Japan, and we quote here the section which deals with "Humanizing Industrial Relations."

"Humanizing Industrial Relations

"*I. The Conditions of Japanese Industry*

"The swift changes which have taken place in Japanese industrial circles during the past fifty years have passed through the same experiences which the advanced nations of Europe and America have experienced across a much longer period of time.

"On the one hand, as a result of the striking growth of productive power and advance toward the goal of becoming a wealthy nation; a merchant marine, railroads, educational institutions, and numberless other modern accommodations have been made possible. From all these the people have derived large benefits.

"On the other hand, however, as a result of the advance of modern industrialism in our country there has been a beginning of the concentration of capital, a massing of land holdings, a massing of the population in the cities, and an increase of a propertyless laboring class.

"In other words this advantageous advance of industrialism is to-day in other directions creating various social problems.

"*II. Among these may be enumerated the following outstanding ones*

"The violent increase of unemployment, labor disputes, disputes of peasant tenants with landlords, child labor, female labor, inactivity in financial circles and the industrial world, and the difficulty of securing a livelihood.

"According to the census of 1925 out of 2,355,096 workers in twenty-five large cities the unemployed numbered 105,595. That is, the ratio of unemployment was 4.5 to 100.

"In 1924, in spite of the industrial depression, there were 1,083 cases of labor disputes. Among the peasant tenants there were 1,260 cases.

"As regards female and child labor the prohibition of night work for women and the abolition of child labor was about to be realized in connection with the revision of the recent factory law but the industrial depression has resulted in a set-back because of a slump in wages. The resulting increase of the difficulty of making a living has forced an extension of working hours. The eight-hour day stands little chance of early realization in Japan.

"*III. The fact that of the entire number of those who are at work down in the mines almost one-third—75,436—are women is something which we as Christians cannot overlook*

"The condition of the 2,098,046 women working in the spinning factories is even more tragic. Among the male laborers who work for an unsystematized daily wage are those in the Hokkaido and Saghalien who are doing forced labor. Moreover there are nearly 200,000 women condemned to a life of prostitution.

"*IV. Conditions which from the Christian point of view need to be bettered*

"From the Christian standpoint, the betterment which to-day especially needs to be agitated for is the establishment of moral and humane relations in the industrial world. The industrial system of to-day loses sight of man's desire for security in his economic and moral life. In this sense the following essential matters should be especially considered:

"1. The establishment of a minimum wage so that security will be given regarding the question of a livelihood.

"2. Bettering the present condition of female and child labor.

"3. The betterment of relations between employers and employees.

"4. Relief of the unemployed.
"5. Provision covering cases of illness.
"6. The prevention of poverty.
"7. Education for the children of laborers.
"8. Temperance reform.
"9. The abolition of public prostitution.
"10. The establishment of healthful recreational centers.
"11. A principle of distribution concerning factory districts.

"*V. The Relation of the Japanese Christian Church to th Industrial World*

"During the past fifty years the important problems which have confronted the Japanese church have been evangelization and self-support. In these two realms the Church has realized a fair degree of success but it cannot be said that it is as yet a sufficient force in the nation's work-a-day world.

"Furthermore, the tendency of the Japanese church during the past fifty years has been to emphasize evangelism and the salvation of the individual. As a result it has unfortunately not come into close touch with social thought and social and industrial problems.

"It cannot be said, however, that the influence exerted by individual Japanese Christians upon the nation's industrial world has been small. Christians loomed large among the early social reformers and labor leaders, for example Dr. S. Yoshino, Mr. B. Suzuki, Professor I. Abe, Dr. M. Sugiyama, and a score of others.

"Worthy of special mention in this connection are the movements in the industrial field which centered around Mr. T. Kagawa during the Taisho Era. Mr. Kagawa is at present carrying on the following projects:

"1. Movements for the bettering of labor conditions.
"2. Movements for the uplift and betterment of the peasant class.
"(*a*) Peasants' Coöperative Societies.
"(*b*) Farmers' Gospel School.
"(*c*) Rural evangelization in coöperation with Dr. M. Sugiyama.

"3. Settlement work.

"4. Organization of Coöperative Societies.

"5. Organization of Mutual Help Societies.

"6. Evangelism among classified trades.

"7. Educational and evangelistic work for the laboring class.

"Moreover, there are among Japanese Christian capitalists and employers those who are earnestly studying and actually carrying on activities for the purpose of humanizing industry.

"Of these such men as Mr. T. Hadano and Mr. S. Kawai of the Gunzei Filature in Kyoto Prefecture and Mr. K. Yanagiwara, proprietor of the Yamatogawa Dyeing Works in Osaka, are conspicuous examples. Particularly Mr. Kawai, the Welfare Superintendent of the filature mentioned above, spurred on by the conviction that industrialism and the Christian faith can be harmonized, is producing outstanding results.

"*VI. The Church's Responsibility and the Direction of Thought regarding Industrial Problems*

"The church's first duty to-day is to really understand social problems. That means that the church must awaken to a greater sense of social responsibility.

"In the next place, indirectly though it may be, the church should, from the moral and human point of view, to the utmost render vigorous judgment regarding industrial problems and at the same time give guidance and set up objectives.

"To this end the church should to-day give attention to the following matters:

"1. Censure and guidance regarding present-day materialistic thought.

"2. Censure of atheistic Marxism. It is said that recently 150,000 volumes of translations of the entire set of Marx's *Capitalism* have been sold in our country.

"3. The expulsion of mammonism and almighty-dollarism.

"4. The prevention of violence in class strife.

"5. The censure of tendencies toward reactionary Fascism, ultra-patriotism, and imperialism.

"*VII. The Church's place as regards the various movements in the industrial world*

"As has already been suggested the church should function indirectly as a critic and a guide of the various movements in the industrial world rather than interfering directly.

"Moreover, rather than taking sides with either capitalism or labor it should deal impartially with both.

"The church should ever be the friend of the weak but it should prevent violence in class strife, which is believed by the laborers to be the method for solving social problems. It should stress peaceful and harmonious attitudes.

"At the same time the church should initiate social reform and engage in such efforts of social relief as lay within the range of its powers.

"*VIII. The Church's Social Responsibility*

"Finally, the urgent necessity which faces the Japanese church to-day, together with that of evangelism and self-support, is to give to the restless social heart of our time authoritative ideals and objectives for human life.

"The church should furnish the ideals and organization for a new social order, a society in which all human relations are based on personality, where the individual is respected and where civilization radiates these qualities.

"It should furnish ideals and goals for the reconstruction movements of to-day.

"Our Japanese church should not fail to come into vital touch with the spirit of the times and respond to the demands of the day.

"For this reason courses dealing with social thought and social science should in the future be provided in our theological seminaries.

"The way should also be opened for Christian ministers to make a special study of social science and social thought from the Christian point of view.

"The Japanese church of the future should give special

thought to the problems in the industrial world and earnestly praying 'Thy Kingdom come' advance resolutely in her leadership."

VII. OTHER ASIATIC COUNTRIES

This paper would become excessively long if we attempted to do more than deal with the leading industrial countries of the East and, as we shall later do, with the question of forced labor.

The problems of most of the other Asiatic countries are not yet predominantly those associated with machine industry, but those of an earlier stage in industrial development. Some writers on English industrial history have been at pains to show that, while the factory and power-driven machinery brought manifold evils in their train, they at least abolished others and perhaps not less distressing ones. The Near East is in the later stages of what is commonly called "domestic" industry, when the pressure of demands for production is transforming the genuine "home industry" into an exploited business, run by middlemen and "manned" for the most part by women and children.

The relatively free and independent artizan, working in his own home, on his own materials, and for his own customers, exists still, but for all articles of general use which are susceptible of being marketed he is being replaced by the child-worker and the elementary, for the most part hard-driven, machine.

Packed in hundreds of small work-places, even in cellars, with little or no ventilation or sanitary conveniences, these child-martyrs produce cigarettes and weave the characteristic silks and cottons and carpets of the Near East. In Syria and Palestine (where an inspector has recently been appointed in the endeavor to produce some amelioration), and in Turkey and Persia, conditions among child-workers tend to be approximately the same. They are graphically described below.

And there is little doubt, unless the administrations concerned take action, that the increasing demand for the articles these women and children produce, coupled with the immense profit to be obtained from industry burdened with practically no "overhead" expense and with very low wage costs, will lead to a rapid extension of this child-martyrdom. We have no wish to minimize the difficulties of the case; the effective inspection and control of small work-places is always difficult, and it is more so when the work-places are Mohammedan homes with all the safeguards which surround Mohammedan women. But this is not to say that nothing should be done. Sanitary and hygienic measures may do much, and there is the all-important question of the manner in which the children are obtained. It is not too much to say that they are frequently virtually sold to the employer. Sent to him in return for an advance of money which it is practically impossible for the parent to repay, the children are slaves at least until they are adult. And they begin work sometimes at five or six years of age.

Public opinion on these matters is slow in arousing, but there is no doubt that it can be aroused and that then improvements become both politically and financially possible. We give the following history of events in Persia as at once an instance of successful coöperation between the Christian Church, the Government, and the International Labor Office in the removal of industrial hardship, and an account from unimpeachable sources of the child-martyrdom of which we speak.

Bishop Linton, of the Church Missionary Society in Persia, called attention to the inhuman conditions under which women and children were employed in carpet-making in Kerman. In the autumn of 1920 it was reported to the Governing Body of the International Labor Office that the conditions of work in the weaving industry in Kerman fell far short of those "fair and humane conditions of labor" which, by the terms of the Covenant, each member of the League of Nations was pledged to establish. In particular, it was reported that the looms in Kerman and in the adja-

cent villages which were employed for the weaving of carpets, were situated in small, low, badly ventilated rooms in which the women and child-workers were overcrowded to an unhealthy degree; that children were employed at these looms from as early as five years of age, and worked from early morning till sunset, with only a brief interval in the middle of the day. These conditions caused irreparable damage to the health of the workers, and the cramped position in which these young children had to sit during long hours brought about atrophy of their legs and arms and physiological complaints of an irremediable nature.

The children became unable to walk, or even to get on or off their benches without assistance, and were frequently carried to their work by their parents and put on the benches, where they were left until they were lifted off in the evening. If these unfortunate children lived, their adult life was even a worse misery, since they were permanently deformed and quite unable to earn their living.

In view of the fact that Persia is a member of the League of Nations, and thereby also of the International Labor Organization, the Governing Body decided to call the attention of the Persian Government to the matter. Friendly representations were, therefore, made by letter and through the delegates of the Persian Government to the Second Assembly of the League, and it was suggested that the Persian Government would not knowingly tolerate the existence of conditions so repugnant to all humane instincts.

In December, 1921, the Persian Government officially informed the International Labor Office that, pending definite legislative measures, Kerman local authorities had been instructed that in the future:

1. Engagement of workers must be effected with complete liberty on both sides.

2. The working day of all who are employed in carpet factories shall be eight hours; the employers are not entitled to require any extension.

3. Boys under eight and girls under ten years of age shall not be employed in such factories. Boys and girls shall

have separate workshops (not mixed workshops as heretofore).

4. In the girls' workshops only forewomen shall be employed, the employment of foremen being absolutely prohibited.

5. No worker suffering from an infectious disease shall be engaged or retained at work.

6. No underground or damp rooms shall be used as workshops; workshops shall have windows to the south.

7. The looms shall be about one meter above the ground and the seats sufficiently high for the children to perform their work comfortably.

In December, 1923, these regulations were incorporated in a decree applicable to Kerman and Beluchistan, with a further provision instituting regular inspection of the factories. The Public Health Service or Municipal Medical Officer must visit the factories monthly, and report any noncompliance with the prescribed sanitary and hygienic regulations.

During the last year it would appear that Persian opinion itself has been aroused to push still further these ameliorative measures, and the Ministry, at the instigation of an enlightened member who was formerly Governor of Kerman, and who knows his case, is reported to have instituted a commission of inquiry into the carpet-weaving industry in general, and to have the intention of pursuing an active campaign for the preservation of Persian childhood. We need not, perhaps, remind our readers that the responsibility for all these evils does not rest entirely on Persian shoulders. British and American capitalists, among others, are deeply engaged, and their responsibility is the greater inasmuch as they know that things might be done otherwise. Let this be an appeal to them to coöperate loyally with the Persian Government in its present efforts.

But if children, in the Near East and elsewhere, are so easily procurable for industrial exploitation there is a reason for it. And, as one might expect, the reason is the profound poverty of the parents. In these notes we cannot do more

than call attention to this background in which modern industry finds high dividends. But surely the conditions of the Near Eastern peasant half *metayer*, half *adscriptus glebæ*, and wholly at the mercy of the proprietor of the land, call for inquiry and protection. We should not wait for the inevitable agrarian revolution, with all that that means, when at last the peasant is aroused. It is not reassuring, perhaps, that in certain of the areas under mandate in the Near East, in Iraq, Transjordania, and Syria, the possibility of the experience of the Mandatory Powers' being utilized to hasten the favorable social development of these countries appears to be becoming more and more remote. The promotion of autonomy and responsible government has progressed faster than social amelioration, and the future of the peasant and the child will lie in the hands of those whose interest is for the most part in the retention of the present relationship between landowner and peasant, or of those whose inexperience in these matters will handicap their best-intentioned efforts. Political power, in fact, now lies with the great proprietors and the small educated class.

Turning to Southeastern Asia, the problems we find there are again different. The exploitation of forest products, the system of plantation cultivation, and the working of mines are forms of industrialization not different in essence from those found in Africa, though in certain cases the higher evolution of the peoples concerned renders the problem to be solved somewhat different. Not in all cases, for in parts of the Dutch East Indies and in New Guinea some of the peoples are in every way as backward as the most backward African tribes. It is among these that the system of contract labor under severe criminal penalties for breach has been instituted among peoples who, while frequently possessing high standards of honor in things they understand, are little capable of comprehending Western ideas of commercial morality. Of the dubious ways in which these peoples are frequently "persuaded" to engage themselves for labor, and in which they are compelled to keep to their little-understood engagements, much has been written. We need

only say here that there remains still great effort to be made if these peoples are to be led to a conception of a higher, not merely a more productive, civilization. In some of these areas, too, the iniquitous *concessionnaire* system of exploitation still obtains. It would appear that the revelations of the scandals of the past connected with this system have not as yet taught their lesson to all the imperial powers. The fight is still to be fought in the home field.

An inquiry into the condition of labor in Asiatic countries now being undertaken by the International Labor Office, and including not only the great industrial States like India, China, and Japan, but also Siam, Malaya, the Dutch East Indies, and the French possessions in the southeast, will, it is hoped, provide accurate campaigning material and a basis for constructive reforms.

VIII. AFRICA [1]

We are accustomed to think of Africa as predominantly the continent of raw materials, but recent developments, particularly during and since the war, necessitate a modification of our ideas. While it is still true that the raw product of forests, farms, plantations, and mines—of the "primary industries," in short—form the bulk of Africa's contribution to world well-being, it is none the less true that industrialism has taken firm foothold and is rapidly extending in more directions than one.

We may leave aside for the moment those areas like South Africa and certain districts on the northern coast where complete modern industrial methods may be found in full activity. They have their own problems, to which we shall refer later. But nowadays, even in Central Africa, the situation is rapidly changing. First of all, in regard to the collection or production of such vegetable raw materials as rubber, palm-oil, ground nuts, the casual method of forest collection has almost entirely been displaced, under the

[1] Supplied by H. A. Grimshaw of the International Labor Organization, Geneva.

pressure of European demand, by systematic and organized collection, or by mass production on plantations. Both changes imply that certain elements of what we call the factory system, regularity, more or less continuous employment, and the payment of wages instead of the purchase of the collection materials, have been introduced into African social life. This is not an unmixed evil, for the older method of forest collection by natives who occupied themselves, if they so wished, in the search for materials which the white trader desired to purchase had given way to one of merciless compulsion and, in its worst forms, had led to the state of affairs which aroused the world conscience in regard to the Belgian Congo. Neither is the change an unmixed blessing, for it has not always been carried out in such a way as to improve the lot of the native worker. Like the English factory worker of the early nineteenth century, he must now live near his work. Brought often by force, he must forsake his former home and habituate himself as best he may to new climates, new foods, new work (the regularity and severity of which he is totally unaccustomed to and, by his former habit, totally unprepared for). His tribal life is inevitably broken up; frequently also, where the man's work only is wanted without the complicating and expensive presence of his family, he is deprived of the normal family life, if not continuously at least for long periods. Though he still works on the land he is none the less an "industrialism" worker.

We found twenty years ago that the compulsory collection of rubber under barbaric penalties for non-success was not economically advantageous: the native population disappeared under it, and no amount of additional compulsion or severity produced great supplies of rubber. We are now finding that the less barbaric plantation system of to-day leads to similar effects, though no doubt less catastrophic, and the great problem of to-day in many areas where these conditions have existed is the further supply of labor.

Consequently, we are beginning—but how late!—to recognize that the industrialization of the production of even

vegetable raw materials is not so simple a problem as it looked, and that most of the difficulties encountered in regard to industrialism in general are found here also. In the last few years, therefore, we have legislated for the protection of the worker, taken measures for the supervision of the term of his contract, inspected the plantations and the housing accommodation, and insisted on the provision for him of medical attendance and suitable and adequate food. But not yet by any means satisfactorily. It cannot be said that the mass of legislation on these questions in Central Africa, some of it very good, is effectively applied. Nor can it possibly be so until the system of inspection is very largely extended. Conditions in this respect vary, of course, but even where one would expect a large degree of efficiency in the application of the law, as for instance in old colonies like the Gold Coast, it would appear that a crisis is necessary in order to provoke action on the part of a surprised administration. It seems little to be doubted that the appalling prevalence of hookworm and other diseases among the workers of the Gold Coast mines, revealed a few years ago by a special inquiry conducted by Sir William Simpson, ought to have been known and combated much earlier, and no doubt would have been known and combated had an adequate inspection system been in force.

In short, we are proceeding in this matter almost exactly as if we had had no previous experience. And the reason for inadequate inspection or no provision for inspection is the usual one, the high cost which, in adding to the cost of production, might reduce profits.

More recently still, and in far too few areas, recognition is paid to the fact that one cannot convert the native, accustomed to one mode of life, into the industrialized plantation worker at a moment's notice. Attempts are then being made to habituate him. A Belgian Congo proposal, applicable not to plantations, but to mines, and not yet, it is thought, in full working order, would give a man three months to accommodate himself to his new surroundings, with a cottage for himself and his family, with a regular

supply of nourishing food of the kind necessary for a manual worker, with pigs or chickens of his own to assist him in "settling down," and with the society of people of his own tribe—all this before asking him to commence any work. And when at length he does begin, gradual habituation to its severity: half-time work, perhaps, during a further three months.

This seems the merest common sense, but it is undoubtedly expensive. It is not a happy thought that such measures come only after the failure of less humanitarian measures.

The "industrialization" which consists in the regularization of agricultural labor is not, however, the only direction which industrialism in Africa has taken. There are a number of industrial processes which must be carried out, or are most conveniently carried out, on the spot where the raw materials are produced. Improvement in these processes brings the machine at once. Native methods, for instance, of treating palm-fruit give way to machine crushing; cotton is ginned on the spot; the first (and in some cases even the last) ore-refining processes are most economically carried out at the mine-head. There are obvious reasons why this extension of the natives' work is likely to go on to the furthest possible point. In a continent where transport is often a very difficult matter, all means will be sought to avoid the necessity of carrying bulk raw materials where the treated resultant is less bulky: refined oil instead of the crude palm-fruit or nuts, ginned cotton instead of the natural product, metal instead of ore. And, in a continent where labor is relatively cheap, every effort will inevitably be made to profit by that circumstance. Africa used to export crude oil; it now exports refined oil, and before long will export soap and candles. It no longer exports ore, but metals; no longer the tons of mineral necessary for the extraction of radium, but the reduced quantities resulting from treatment, and very soon (if not already) the few grains of radium itself. In other words, there is no visible insuperable difficulty in the establishment in Africa of factories and manufacturing

processes now carried out in Europe. What the effects on European industry of such an establishment may be it is not our present purpose to examine; it is sufficient at the moment to indicate that the introduction in Africa of machine industry has gone further than is generally understood, and is capable of very rapid extension.

And thus, unless the responsible white races act with a finer prevision than they utilized in their industrialization of Asia, we shall have the same basic problem, the same subversion of society, the same suffering and misery, and the same eruptive and disruptive tendencies as are visible in Japan and the industrialized areas of China and India to-day. Can nothing be done to prevent it? We believe that much can and much must be done. Africa is as yet, comparatively speaking, a sheet upon which little has been written.

First and foremost, we must put checks on the speed of the change. While the only motive or the predominant motive is profit-making, the process will always run faster than the harassed population can bear. The Permanent Mandates Commission had no doubt this idea in mind when it proposed the following for insertion in the list of questions destined to aid the Mandatory Powers in the preparation of their annual reports:

"Does the local supply of labor, in quantity, physical powers of resistance, and aptitude for industrial and agricultural work *conducted on modern lines* [1] appear to indicate that it is adequate, as far as can be foreseen, for the economic development of the territory?

"Or does the government consider it possible that sooner or later a proper case for the preservation and development of the native race may make it necessary to restrict for a time the establishment of new enterprises or the extension of existing enterprises and to spread over a longer term of years the execution of such large public works as are not of immediate and urgent necessity?"

In the guise of a question, there is here a very salutary warning.

[1] The italics are ours.

Space forbids our entering into the question in further detail. But there is one aspect of industrialism in certain parts of Africa which cannot be passed over in silence, since it is without doubt the gravest problem of to-day and that which calls most insistently for immediate solution, and solution on Christian principles. It is that which arises when European and native races are brought into contact not merely as masters and servants, as administrators and administrated, but as agricultural or industrial competitors—competitors for land or for industrial occupation.

It is for the most part in British areas where this question has become or is becoming most acute, and it has reached the stage of crisis in South Africa. There, a population of 1,500,000 whites lives with 5,500,000 non-Europeans, the vast majority native Africans. The problems arising from this situation have been treated at great length and with much ability, and it is not our intent to treat them in detail here. For us, the important point to note is that they are arising, and will develop, unless our action is otherwise guided than it has been in the past, in other areas where white settlement is or will be possible. In Kenya, where the competition between black and white is so far rather for land than for industrial occupation, but where competition for the latter is by no means impossible in the future, in Tanganyika, in Nyassaland, in Northern and Southern Rhodesia, and in Southwest Africa, the same possibilities of evil exist.

What is the evil? In two words, and without entering into a detailed description of its social repercussion, it is the development of a society in two strata: an upper or white race basing its civilization and its comfort largely on the labor of the lower or black race, which is to remain a helot class, the hewers of wood and drawers of water for whom the superior comfort, education, and civilization of the upper is prohibited. Let us illustrate from the industrial point of view. Modern industrial method in South Africa affects white worker and black worker alike, but *modern industrial protective legislation is applied only to the former:* the black

worker, who is as much a modern industrial worker (for example, in the mines) as millions of whites in South Africa or elsewhere, works under a totally different and, from the protective point of view, much less effective code. Nor is he permitted so effectively to protect himself as is the white worker: he finds that his trade unions are hampered and circumscribed as the white trade unions are not; his freedom of movement—vital to all possibility of the improvement of his economic situation—likewise is limited as the white worker's is not.

A similar, though less acute problem, tends to arise on the Mediterranean coast, where the French system of creating a special civil status, the *indigénat*, for natives results in differential treatment of natives and Europeans in regard to labor legislation. But the differences are by no means so great as in South Africa, and there appears to be no public opposition to the gradual assimilation of the two classes, at least as far as labor conditions are concerned. The great danger is that the "South Africa policy" be extended to other areas, mostly British, where white settlement is possible. Fortunately there is evidence that in South Africa itself a strong body of opinion exists in favor of modification of the policy, and that in the formation of that opinion and its extension the Christian churches are playing an increasing part.

In discussing industrialism in Africa thus generally we have intentionally here confined ourselves to the labor issue. To enter into an examination of the effects of industrialism when thus superimposed on native society would lead us very far, and would raise a multitude of questions provocative of heart-searching, but would be perhaps outside the scope of these notes. Without speculation on the future, then, we will summarize by indicating what are the matters calling for immediate action.

Forced labor, direct and indirect, is dealt with in the succeeding chapter. It is undoubtedly the worst scourge which European demand for production has brought to Africa. But there are countless other spheres where reform

is urgent, and where, let it be repeated, the only difficulty in the way is expense. The protection of women and child-workers, the limitation of hours for all workers, provision for the sick and injured, sanitation and safety in work-places (all of them matters on which we have vast experience elsewhere) are either non-existent or rudimentary in Africa. Wages, again, their adequacy and the certainty of their payment, are a burning question. We tend to exact labor according to European standards, but to pay wages on African standards. Is it a justification to say that the African's *wants* are few? Is it not true that his *needs*, in the way of education, sanitation, and everything that he must have if he is to progress in civilization, are enormous, and that the wealth which might provide these goes not to him but elsewhere?

Is the transition from a people owning or holding land to a wage-class absolutely necessary in Africa, as a condition of the progress of the continent? There are examples of another policy in West Africa which has led to infinitely better conditions. It is perhaps not everywhere as easily applicable, but its success justifies us in asking whether even in more purely industrial circumstances it may not be possible to avoid the creation of a "landless proletariat," dependent entirely upon wage-earning, which must needs go through the long travail of our European working-class populations, but with infinitely worse chances of securing well-being at the end of their effort.

IX. FORCED LABOR AMONG PRIMITIVE PEOPLES

It has been stated already that this report is concerned with industry in the limited and defined sense of machine industry such as has been developed in the West during the last century and is now spreading to the East. We have omitted from consideration the very important question of village and cottage handicrafts, which still affect a larger number of people in the East than do the more highly

organized industries. It is, therefore, necessary to state why the subject of forced labor among primitive peoples, which is also foreign to the problem of machine industry, is included in this report.

It is a commonplace of discussion to-day that one of the most important facts in the world is the emergence of Africa, within this generation, into a leading place in the world's economy as a vast reservoir of raw material. A glance at a map of Africa before and after the 'eighties of the last century will show how rapidly Africa became subject to the jurisdiction of Western powers when her enormous potential wealth was revealed by the work of explorers. But raw materials cannot be harvested without labor, and the African is recognized to be no less essential to the world than the hidden wealth of his great continent. Accordingly there has come increasingly to the front the problem, how to insure that, in the world's scramble for the rubber and palm-oil and coffee and other things that she needs and that Africa has to give, the African, who is a human being with the divine rights of a human being, shall be secured in justice and freedom. What is true of Africa is true of the primitive populations of the Pacific Islands and other regions where the same conditions reign, but Africa is by far the greatest instance of what is now a major issue with all who care for human justice.

There are aspects of this great question on which we cannot even touch here. For instance, it is obviously fundamental to the whole issue that there should be recognition of the rights of the peoples of Africa not only to just conditions of labor but to at least a share in the possession of the natural wealth of their country. This will differ according to the type of raw material; it is probably impossible ever to market mineral produce if reliance is placed exclusively on native initiative. On the other hand, British West Africa shows as good an example as there is in the world of a prosperous colony based on the non-alienation of land. We cannot do more than mention this question here, but it can never be forgotten if we are concerning ourselves with social right.

The primary reason for taking up this question of "forced labor" is that it is now a matter claiming international action, and that the peoples of the world through their representatives are being asked to agree on international conventions which shall remove abuses and secure justice. The subject has been committed to the International Labor Organization, and will occupy the foremost place at the Labor Conference in 1929. Secondly, there is no class of human being that has in all kinds of out-of-the-way places been a greater friend and defender of the native than the missionary (a statement for which ample evidence could be given), and no one knows better than he (and she) the need for regulation of labor conditions and the depths of human misery that are sounded when justice is absent from the process of mobilizing primitive labor. In addition to this broad human consideration, it is obvious that the growth of the Christian Church in Africa and the other backward regions, a growth which is in some parts almost phenomenal, is affected gravely by the existence of conditions which offend against the elementary human sense of justice and decency. There are some kinds of life which not only revolt the developed Christian conscience, but arouse in the most simple primitive Christian heart the sense that they are not fit for those to whom has come through Christ some dim sense of human worth and dignity.

Accordingly we will set forth, first, the recent developments in the international regulation of forced labor, and secondly, those principles which investigation and discussion among men of all nations now show to be those on which just dealing with the backward peoples can most surely be founded.

The question of forced labor appears first to have been brought within the sphere of international consideration on the occasion of the adoption, by the Peace Conference, of the Covenant of the League of Nations and of the mandatory system there outlined for the administration of the extra-European areas detached from the former German and Turkish Empires. The Covenant itself makes no direct

reference to the question. Article 22, however, speaks of the well-being and development of "peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world" as being "a sacred trust of civilization," and Article 23 lays down that the Members of the League

"(*a*) will endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women, and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend . . . and will

"(*b*) undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control."

Some of the ideas underlying these passages found more concrete expression in so far as forced labor is concerned when the terms of the Mandates came to be drafted. Each mandate of the "B" and "C" type contains an Article on forced labor. In the case of the "B" mandates the formula employed is the following:

"The Mandatory . . .

"(3) shall prohibit all forms of forced or compulsory labor, except for essential public works and services, and then only in return for adequate remuneration;

"(4) shall protect the natives from abuse and measures of fraud and force by the careful supervision of labor contracts and the recruiting of labor."

In the "C" mandates the text is drafted slightly differently:

"The Mandatory shall see . . . that no forced labor is permitted, except for essential public works and services, and then only for adequate remuneration."

The differences of text do not appear to indicate essential differences of meaning.

The Temporary Slavery Commission of the League of Nations included the question of forced labor in the program of its work, rightly considering that, if it differs from slavery in a judicial sense, its practical effects are at least temporarily the same.

The report of the Commission was presented to the Sixth (1925) Assembly of the League, which adopted a Draft

Convention. This was referred to the governments, and again brought up at the Seventh Assembly (1926), where it was passed in an amended form. The article of the Convention dealing with Forced Labor is as follows:

"*Article 5.*

"The High Contracting Parties recognize that recourse to compulsory or forced labor may have grave consequences and undertake, each in respect of the territories placed under its sovereignty, jurisdiction, protection, suzerainty, or tutelage, to take all necessary measures to prevent compulsory or forced labor from developing into conditions analogous to slavery.

"It is agreed that:

"(1) Subject to the transitional provisions laid down in paragraph (2) below, compulsory or forced labor may only be exacted for public purposes.

"(2) In territories in which compulsory or forced labor for other than public purposes still survives, the High Contracting Parties shall endeavor progressively and as soon as possible to put an end to the practice. So long as such forced or compulsory labor exists, this labor shall invariably be of an exceptional character, shall always receive adequate remuneration, and shall not involve the removal of the laborers from their usual place of residence.

"(3) In all cases, the responsibility for any recourse to compulsory or forced labor shall rest with the competent central authorities of the territory concerned."

The omission in the text of the Convention of any reference to the question of the remuneration of forced labor exacted for public purposes was due to the difficulty of securing agreement to an immediate enforcement of the principle, especially in view of the exaction in certain territories of labor in lieu of taxation. A resolution on this matter was, however, adopted by the Assembly, as follows:

"The Assembly:

"While recognizing that forced labor for public purposes is sometimes necessary;

"Is of opinion that, as a general rule, it should not be resorted to unless it is impossible to obtain voluntary labor and should receive adequate remuneration."

In the above-mentioned text and in the texts of the Mandates certain general principles have now been internationally accepted in regard to compulsory or forced labor. They refer to the purposes for which it is permissible to exact forced labor, and the circumstances under which recourse may be had to it, the authority which should be responsible for that recourse, and the question of remuneration.

As to the purposes for which forced labor may be exacted, the texts of the Mandates are peremptory on the point that no forced labor is permissible except for "essential public works and services." That of the Slavery Convention differs in several points. In the first place, as a "transitional provision," forced labor for other than public purposes (i.e., for private employers) is permitted provided that progressive effort be made to put an end to it as soon as possible, and under certain conditions.

The effect appears to be that in areas under mandate forced labor for private employers is entirely prohibited, while States which adhere to the Slavery Convention may permit its temporary continuance under certain conditions where it still exists, but may not permit its development where it does not exist, and may not resuscitate its practice.

In the second place, instead of the term "essential public works and services" found in the texts of the Mandates, the Convention uses the wider term, "public purposes." The restrictions in this connection imposed under the Mandates are thus more severe than those laid down in the Convention.

On the question of the circumstances under which forced labor may be exacted, the only indication given by the texts of the Mandates appears to be in the use of the word "essential," a word of uncertain meaning. The Slavery Convention itself contains nothing on the point, but the Resolution of the Assembly which accompanied it comprises the important expression of opinion that "as a general rule it

(i.e., forced labor for public purposes) should not be resorted to unless it is impossible to obtain voluntary labor."

The important question of the authority responsible for recourse to forced labor is resolved simply in the case of the areas under mandate: it is the mandatory that "shall prohibit all forms of forced or compulsory labor," or "shall see that no forced labor is permitted." On the mandatory then rests the responsibility. The Convention takes the direct responsibility from local officials or authorities and places it upon the "competent central authorities of the territories concerned."

On the question of remuneration, again, the Mandates are peremptory: all forced labor is to be adequately remunerated. In the Convention, however, it is only forced labor for other than public purposes which "shall always receive adequate remuneration"; as regards public purposes the Convention itself is silent. The resolution on the matter, however, indicates the opinion of the Committee and of the Assembly, that "as a general rule" it "should receive adequate remuneration."

These principles, in part clear, in part somewhat nebulous, represent the result so far of international negotiations and discussions on the question of forced labor.

National legislation and practice has in many if not all cases gone much farther not only in the adoption of principles governing recourse to forced labor, but also and more particularly in regard to the regulation of the conditions under which the forced laborer should work and the safeguards which should surround him at his task.

That legislation has been motived not only by concern for order and for the practical efficiency of this form of labor, but also, and probably principally, by the desire to avert as far as may be possible the abuses which have arisen in the past and the evils which have been associated with it. In other words, like the labor legislation of advanced industrial States, it is social legislation devised for the protection of the worker as individual and as member of society, and for the protection of society against the social evils which arise

always from the existence within it of depressed, exploited, or discontented groups. Again, like modern labor legislation, it has been profoundly influenced by the opinions of observers moved primarily by such humanitarian considerations as are succinctly summarized in the analogy between forced labor and slavery drawn by the Temporary Slavery Commission and expressed in the Slavery Convention.

Both the Mandates and the Slavery Convention make a clear line of distinction between forced labor for public purposes and forced labor for private employers, and these categories are adopted here.

It is impossible within the scope of this paper to give in detail the regulations of the different Powers; the statement of resultant principles is perhaps sufficient indication of the lessons of experience, both in failure and in success.

Under the heading "public purposes" may be classed the following objects: cases of emergency (fire, flood, famine), important public works (railways, roads, irrigation), porterage, cultivation as a precaution against famine, measures against pests, labor dues (e.g., the French *prestations*), and such local purposes as the maintenance of local sanitation. With regard to the heading "forced labor for private employers," there is now very little direct compulsion to be found in the areas controlled by civilized States. There is, however, a considerable amount of indirect compulsion to seek engagement by private employers, through recruitment by government officials, direct taxation, vagrancy laws, or the restriction of lands open to native use.

What are the criteria which justify recourse to forced labor, and what should be the authority responsible for its imposition? There are certain principles which experience shows to be of general validity in dealing with all kinds of situations in which forced labor may be demanded. There should be genuine necessity; the work done should be essential to the public well-being. There ought to be a certain element of urgency, preventing the usual recourse to voluntary labor. It should be clear that voluntary labor cannot be secured to meet the emergency. All these questions

ought to be answered before forced labor is employed, and the responsibility for decision ought, in the words of the Slavery Convention, to "rest with the competent central authorities of the territory concerned," or, as in some instances under British colonial administration, with the higher authority at home.

It is in connection with forced labor for important public works (construction and sometimes maintenance of railways, main roads, wharves, drainage, irrigation works, and so on) that the evils associated with forced labor are generally found to be most intense. They may be summarily indicated here.

In addition to the effects upon individuals of the imposition of regular labor to which they are unaccustomed—effects which are frequently disastrous unless prolonged gradual habituation is possible—there are grave social dangers. Wherever large bodies of workers are removed from their villages and their families and herded together for some large constructive work a number of intensely important problems arise. Away from the milieu to which they are accustomed, their morale rapidly degenerates. The absence of their wives tends to encourage abnormal sexual habits; the cessation of the tribal authority which they respect and which provides the sanctions of their code of conduct leaves them unguided amid strange circumstances; they lose their own standards without gaining new ones; their *religio* fails them. They suffer severely from climatic change, possibly even more severely from changes of diet. Usually they are excessively liable to attack by diseases with which they come into contact for the first time, more especially tuberculosis and venereal disease. In close contact with each other, the onset of highly infectious disease decimates them. In recent cases where statistics have been made available, appalling rates of mortality, up to ten and even twelve per cent. per annum, have been recorded. Public discussion last year in one European parliament revealed a case where the mortality in one contingent of forced workers on an African railway reached ninety-four per cent.;

in other contingents on the same work it was stated to be forty or fifty per cent.

These are the effects which fall upon the workers themselves: there are other results which affect the community from which they come and of which account must be taken. Those due to their absence include at times a lack of workers for the needs of tribal or village cultivation, with resultant famine. The effects on family life of the absence of the adult males have been frequently noted. The return of the workers to their villages at the termination of their period of service may introduce there the ills from which they suffer. The dissemination of syphilis, hookworm, yaws, tuberculosis, and other maladies is frequently attributed in medical reports to the going and coming of workers.

Compulsion for labor of this type appears, furthermore, to involve certain measures of which the moral effect upon the natives concerned cannot be otherwise than bad. The workers are sometimes moved to the work-places under armed guard; there is evidence that they are at times roped or chained together to minimize the possibilities of escape; escaping workers run the risk of being shot down; armed guards are necessary at the work-places, and so on.

Under these circumstances, to speak of the moral or educative value of forced labor seems mockery. Forced labor is, in fact, from this point of view, a blind alley: the forced worker is not likely to acquire a taste for work; on the contrary, all the associations of compulsion tend to give him an active distaste for it.

It is to be noted, however, that forced labor which does not involve the transference of workers to long distances from their homes and for long periods appears to be often realizable without these concomitants of compulsion. The questions, therefore, of the duration of the period of compulsion and the distance of the work-places from the workers' homes assume an added importance.

So long as forced labor of this type is considered to be permissible, it seems obvious that the criteria laid down justifying recourse to forced labor should be very strictly applied,

and that, further, careful regulations should be made governing the conditions of labor in regard to the persons liable to it, their health while at work, the general conditions of their labor as to duration, hours, payment, compensation for accident, etc., the period of the agricultural year during which forced labor is imposed, and the possibility of the temporary return of the workers to their homes at intervals.

It seems clear that only adult males should be chosen for this work, that the medically unfit or those suffering from a contagious disease should not be drafted, and that not more than a definite proportion of the resident adult male population of a given village should be taken at one time. Most governments admit exemptions even among able-bodied males, e.g., soldiers, chiefs, officials, and sometimes men who are in regular employment under contract to an employer or who have been employed for a given period during the year. The policy of leaving at their work men who are in regular employment is from all points of view advantageous, provided that it covers the case of those who are workers on their own account. It would seem right that those who are satisfactorily employed on their own plots or as craftsmen should equally be left undisturbed. As a measure for the encouragement of industrious habits this is perhaps likely to be even more effective than the exemption of workers under contract to employers.

The avoidance of evils due to lack of medical provision is highly important, and demands the establishment of sufficient dispensaries and hospitals and of a medical staff.

As to general conditions of labor, if possible it is to be desired that men should not be taken further from their homes than will still enable them to return from time to time, as the works for which forced labor may be required are usually large and demand prolonged labor. If this is secured, the total period of compulsion becomes less important, but a maximum should be fixed in each year. There is a consensus of opinion that the working day should be not longer than eight hours, exclusive of meals and rest, and the working week, forty-eight hours.

Payment should always be made, and there seems no valid reason for suggesting that a lower rate than the market rate should ever be paid. Moreover, the authority employing the labor should hold itself responsible for accident or sickness arising out of the conditions of the employment.

It is important also to secure that labor is not removed from the villages at the time when the presence of the men in their fields is necessary for securing the food-production of the community.

Compulsory cultivation in view of the danger of famine may be justified, provided the crops remain the property of the producer, but compulsory cultivation of crops for export, in spite of the argument that such action may further the general well-being of the community, is less easy to justify; it has recently been condemned by the law officers of the Australian Government as being contrary to the terms of the mandate for New Guinea. Compulsory cultivation as a measure of education is open to abuse, and has been condemned as likely to lead to evils of exactly the type which the Slavery Convention was designed to suppress.

Less open to objection, perhaps, is the compulsory work done by villagers in the interests of village sanitation, the maintenance and cleaning of local roads and tracts, and the construction and maintenance of necessary village buildings. Obligations of a similar nature rest upon the members of all communities, though of course they are rapidly commuted for money payments and carried out by specialized paid workers as soon as society develops from the most primitive stages. It is probably impossible to abolish this compulsory work in all cases and immediately, but there are two possibilities of action, of which certain experience is now available, tending to show that amelioration may be rapidly produced. The first is education: most natives are quick to understand their own interest, and once they do, compulsion is not necessary. The second is in the direction of the extension of local government and of entrusting the village authorities with the execution of the work and with money for the purpose of paying for it. Whenever this has been

done, it appears to have been successful, not only in regard to the efficiency of the work but also in regard to the abolition of the necessity of compulsion. The latest examples are to be found in Tanganyika, where part of the moneys obtained from taxation are left in the hands of certain of the district councils, which have been thus able to organize corps of paid sanitary workers.

Thus, while it may still be necessary for some time to permit compulsion for work of this character, it is clear that there is a way out.

There remains the very difficult question of forced porterage. Most opinion agrees that this is one of the worst evils that affect native life, and the most dreaded by the natives. Still, it is argued, no development, economic or administrative, is possible without it, and until mechanical means of conveyance exist it must continue.

If this be conceded, then the precautions taken in other cases of forced labor must be applied here also. The forced laborer must, in the first place, be always paid; he must not be taken to too great distances from his home, rendering his return difficult; nor must he be taken away when his presence in his own fields is necessary. It goes without saying that the elementary rules of common sense must be applied: no women or children should be taken, the load must be limited to the capacity of the man, the necessary food supplies, medical equipment, and stores must be provided, and care taken that suitable lodging is made available when necessary. As in the case of forced labor on long constructional works, account must be taken also of difference of climate, of food habits; otherwise it will be impossible to avoid heavy death-rates.

Here again the best practice indicates ways of moderating, if not entirely obviating, the evils of porterage. In some cases it is absolutely forbidden where roads exist; in others it is reduced to a minimum by the issue of a kind of time-table showing at what times mechanical transport is available between certain points, and forbidding the expedition of goods, except in cases of extreme urgence, at other times. In

all cases there should be a check on unlimited recourse to compulsion for porterage, and it would seem that here in particular the salutary rule that no compulsion should be permitted until after all reasonable efforts to secure voluntary labor have failed should be rigidly applied. It is in fact the opinion of many very highly qualified experts that reasonable efforts, offering adequate ways and acceptable conditions, will rarely fail, and that when they do, there is probably some overwhelmingly strong reason for failure, which should be taken into account. It goes without saying that forced porterage for private individuals traveling as such is totally inadmissible.

We turn now to the question of forced labor for private employers. As has already been pointed out, almost all legislation on the subject of forced labor forbids recourse to it for the benefit of private individuals. Where such forced labor still exists, every effort ought to be made to bring it to an end as soon as possible.

The principal dangers, however, arise from the use by officials of "encouragement" to labor. Most colonial powers do not permit their officials to put pressure on the populations under their charge to work for private employers, but it is obvious that the prestige of the official in a primitive community must be very great, and that "encouragement" from him may be interpreted in a more stringent sense. The only remedy for this is that the administrations should have a perfectly definite policy on the subject and make it known without any ambiguity both to subordinate officials and to the population in general.

There have been instances where the taxation imposed upon native populations has been devised with the express intention of forcing them into employment in order that they might earn the money to pay their taxes, and measures of this kind are advocated by interested parties. This is, of course, merely an alternative form of forced labor for private employers and should be condemned as such. Vagrancy laws should also not be drafted in such a way as to include as "vagrants" the whole population not actually in employ-

ment; otherwise they also become means to forced labor. This does not by any means exhaust the "indirect" methods of forcing natives into employment; they are numerous and sometimes ingenious. One more should, however, not be passed without notice: it is the deprivation of, or restrictions upon, the use of land. "Native reserves" are often inadequate; in at least one case an adult native is not allowed to stay on the land "reserved" for him unless he leaves it for employment with whites for a certain number of months every year.

The only thing that remains to be said on this subject of forced labor is that it is heartily to be desired that the Slavery Convention, in spite of the defects to which reference is made above, should receive ratification by the Great Powers, for it marks an undoubted advance in international agreement on these important issues. It has been stated above that the International Labor Conference in 1929 is to be devoted to this subject, and the quality of the work done on that occasion will to no small extent depend upon the degree of alertness and vigilance displayed by "men and women of goodwill" everywhere.

X. SOME CONCLUDING QUESTIONS

Underneath the variety and complexity of the conditions and the movements sketched in these chapters there lie certain broad facts which are common to the whole situation, and which justify us in viewing it as a single problem.

There is, first, the growth of conditions of life and work, in different parts of the world, involving great hardship and suffering to backward peoples and to masses of men and women in the older countries of Asia who have been driven by economic need into the great centers of industry. It is, perhaps, too easy for people in the countries of the West to consider with approval and admiration the triumphs of industry, commerce, or engineering in Asia and Africa, and to forget the cost in human suffering at which, as things are, these gains are often won.

Secondly, let us remember that behind these instances of suffering and these concrete hardships there lie the more subtle but not less real dangers involved in the transition from one order of society to another. In Africa the incoming of the European does not mean only the kind of hardship against which international action described above seeks to guard; it means also (and in the long run this is more important) the disappearance of the old tribal life. If in India and China the rural population is finding its way into the cities, and there are hundreds of thousands who now live a life partly of the town and partly of the country; if in this new and uncertain environment they find themselves caught up into a type of society to which the old standards and sanctions of the simpler village life no longer apply: the question must be faced, What is to be the underlying ethic, the energizing spirit by virtue of which this new type of society is to live? The caste system of India, the family organization of China, the tribal life of Africa were adequate, in a sense, to maintain the older life; it is one of the most obvious facts of the world situation to-day that these ancient sanctions and systems have but little guidance to offer in the new and confused world into which the peoples are being ushered. What was a sufficient foundation for the life of the village is powerless in the face of the great aggregations of labor in the industrial centers. The social structure of the tribe breaks up as the influences of the European trader invade it, and the old tribal sanctions have no help to give in a world which has begun to demand a more individual response.

Thirdly, we can see in all the countries of the East the more or less vigorous efforts of the working people to help themselves in the face of the exigencies which press upon them. In this they are following the same course of development as their fellows in the West. We have seen how in Japan, India, and China alike, though in different ways and degrees, the trade union has come on the scene, together with other types of combination for mutual self-help, and in these unions we can see the early beginnings of a movement which has within it the power of great things.

Fourthly, there are already signs of the dangers and evils which follow upon any blindness or slothfulness on the part of the Christian Church in regard to these social developments. They are, in brief, the loss of moral leadership and the incurring of moral contempt by the Church, and the resorting of ardent and desperate men to other principles of action, born of violence and fear.

Lastly, and this is implicit in all the other points, we see the need for a Christian ethic related to the needs of the day, and articulated boldly and concretely in view of the different situations in which Christian men and women find themselves called upon to serve.

How, then, may we define the task of the Christian Church in regard to the needs set forth above?

There are three heads under which that task may be divided and defined. First, the Church (and that word is used to denote all who call themselves Christians and who are conscious of some bond of fellowship in Christ and impulse to action in His Name) must take its share in the labor of ascertaining and making known the facts. Secondly, the Church must preach the eternal principles of Christ, creating in men a sense of the truth and power of those principles in their bearing upon earthly society, and helping them, so far as it has the power, to understand the concrete application of these principles to the changing and complex forms of human society. Thirdly, it must address itself to such lines of action as may be enjoined upon it.

First, education in the facts. This is not to say that it is necessary for Christian organizations to engage in investigations by themselves. It may well be (and in most countries it already is so) that Christians can best join with existing bodies which undertake the work of investigation. They have always a common duty to the public, and a particular duty within their own ranks, to make known the facts and to take their share in the task of creating a vigorous and instructed public opinion, the only foundation for progress. It may be worth while here to refer once more to a point made on an earlier page, that no advance in the Christian

sense can ever be made in regard to social and public affairs unless those who concern themselves with these issues are determined to undergo the labor of careful investigation as much as any other students of affairs. However sincere general resolutions of an ethical import may be, they can never affect men's actions and policies unless they are based on an adequate knowledge of the facts with which they deal, and recognize the play of forces which, if they cannot all be changed, can at least be understood.

It may here be suggested that a part is to be played in the countries of Asia and Africa by the student class in the solving of these problems. Something is already being done, and much more might be done, by the Christian colleges, for instance, in undertaking the study of the social developments around them, and in informing and moulding opinion. There are already examples of teachers of economics leading their students in practical studies of this kind, studies both beneficial to the students and of real value in the formation of opinion.

In one direction especially is there need for steady and penetrating study. It has been mentioned above as a feature common to all the fields which have been under discussion that there is a change going on in the very structure of society. No one ought to be more interested in this side of the matter than the Christian student of affairs, for he is concerned not only with the removal or mitigation of isolated evils, but also with the inauguration of a better social order. There is a steadily growing mass of material on such subjects as hours, wages, housing, and so on, but very little evidence as to the effects on the working people of the social environment in which they live, or the nature and requirements of the social organism which is growing up in the industrial centers. Study of the facts from this point of view urgently needs to be made.

We may here mention some of the bodies which ought to be known and can be consulted by those who wish to concern themselves with these questions. The International Labor Office at Geneva is, it is needless to say, a repository of

exact information of every kind. Reference has been made to the Bureau set up by the Continuation Committee of the Stockholm Conference on Life and Work. This Bureau has now been established in Geneva. In North America the Department of Research and Education of the Federal Council of the Christian Churches (105 East 22d Street, New York City) is a body in touch with all the numerous organizations for the study of the industrial problem, and in Great Britain the office of the Continuation Committee of C. O. P. E. C. (92 St. George's Square, London, S. W.) is similarly a central body in touch with both Christian and general organizations for social study and activity. The National Christian Council of India (1 Staveley Road, Poona) is now engaged in research into the Indian industrial problem, and such bodies as the Social Service League, Bombay, or the Servants of India Society, Poona, have long been devoted to the study of the subject. The China Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Culture (22 Nang Chang Chieh, Peking) was recently founded with the object of making possible research into the conditions of Chinese life, and has arranged for a survey of the living conditions of factory workers in Tangku and for other social studies which promise to be of value. Mention should also be made of the Social Research Committee of the Nankai University, Tientsin, the Bureau of Economic Information, Peking, the Department of Social Research in the China Foundation, Peking, and the Industrial Committee of the National Christian Council, Shanghai. In Japan, in addition to the Bureau of Social Affairs described above, mention may be made of the Ohara Institute of Social Investigation, founded in 1916 in Osaka. The Japan National Christian Council has a Committee on Social and Industrial Work.

We turn now to the second aspect of the Church's duty, the preaching of the Christian social Gospel. It is not difficult to state in outline the governing social teaching of our Lord. We are to pray that the Kingdom of God may come, and that His will may be done on earth as in heaven:

that is, that it may be done perfectly on earth. Salvation is, among other things, entry into the service of the Kingdom of God. God is our Father and loves us before we love Him, apart from our merits and attainments, and has shown that love supremely in Jesus Christ, through whom we come to the realization of our fundamental brotherhood with one another under the all-including Fatherhood of God. The Church, as the living society of those who follow Jesus, is to be a token or earnest in the world of that diviner order for which we are to pray and work on earth.

We may find the essence of the social teaching of Jesus Christ by holding together two sets of sayings. On the one hand He continually insists not only, as we do, on the responsibilities of wealth, but also on the dangers with which wealth surrounds the soul; He insists that the life is more than meat, that there are higher values than those of prosperity, that men are to be single-hearted and seek first the Kingdom of Heaven. On the other hand He exalts the virtue of compassion—we are to succor those that have fallen among the thieves—and He has behind Him the moral fervor and longing for justice which mark the Old Testament prophets. He asserts, that is to say, the existence of a world of supreme values, by which all earthly goods are to be judged, and He makes it clear that no one can follow Him and at the same time follow wealth, or even prosperity, as an absolute good. But this elevation of the life of the spirit above the desires of the body is neither ascetic nor pietistic, for a superiority to earthly advancement does not mean that we disregard the need and want of our neighbor, or that we do not allow ourselves to be disturbed while little ones are offended.

Now these principles and governing ideas, so familiar that their cogency is sometimes dulled a little for us, bear in the sharpest possible way on the questions which have been discussed in this paper. We need look no further than the parable of the Good Samaritan for a statement of our duty in the presence of need and oppression. The love of riches which is the cause of so much of the evil of life, not only

among the rich but also among the poor, is condemned in terms repeated, unmistakable, and only to be explained away by those who do not wish to obey them. But this means also that Christians can never assent to a system of society in which wealth is accepted as the highest good. Herein all materialism stands condemned, but an instance may show how subtle the problem is. There are, it appears, among students of industrial organization two schools of thought about what is called "scientific management": one which favors a very high production (and therefore very high wages, presumably) reached by teaching the operative precisely the fewest actions needed for the performance of a certain task and confining him to those; the other which encourages the workman to do his work in the way he finds best for him. The latter method might (though again it might not) result in a somewhat lower production, but the former would surely mean the exaltation of wealth, even for the workman himself, above the rights of human personality, which is different from a machine. It follows, moreover, from the principle of the rights of human personality (rights founded in the last resort on the love of God for all of us) that we must especially seek to aid all movements which make for men's helping themselves. From this standpoint the simplest little coöperative society among the working people has not less importance than the legislative prevention of industrial abuses.

Christian social teaching, like most other Christian teaching, is a holding together of truths which, taken apart, may be misleading or even false. We are to seek for the regeneration of society by the regeneration of human hearts, and at the same time we are to take away the causes of stumbling—that is, we are to remove the obstacles that make it hard for many to enter into the diviner order and that are a standing denial of that Kingdom.

Perhaps the most important of all the social duties of the Church is just the steady, continuous, resolute facing of the practical outcome and bearing of the social teaching of Jesus Christ upon the conditions and life of each country. Refer-

ence has been made to the growth of communist feeling in China and Japan. In so far as this growth is not merely the effect of propaganda, it represents the inevitable tendency of those who feel acutely the social iniquities of the present order to have recourse to a violent but apparently clear-cut solution. Perhaps Christians can never give quite so simple answers to so difficult questions, but at least we ought never to be content in any land without striving to bring to bear the judgment and the enabling power of Jesus Christ on the society in which we live.

Turning now to the side of action on the part of the Christian forces, we may roughly define four regions in which it may be carried on. First, there is the support or advocacy of legislation. Our share in this corresponds exactly to our share in the labor of investigation of the facts. We ought not to desire to see a special Christian legislative program, but we ought to give intelligent and informed support to whatever is just, compassionate, and tending to a better society, and we ought to call attention (provided we are sure of our facts) to the lack of adequate legal provision where better laws can help. The share of the Church here is a share in the formation of public opinion.

The second type of action to be taken by Christian bodies lies in the region of providing workers for tasks that need to be done. Of these there is an almost infinite variety. Mention has been made of the need for inspectors, welfare workers, doctors, and many other kinds of servant of the common need, and it is reasonably certain that in all the lands which we have discussed the Christian forces will be expected and ought to be expected to provide a considerable share. Such work will never provide great financial rewards, and will always be laborious, often unpopular, and sometimes dangerous. It is obvious that it must be done in the main by the people of each country for themselves. But it is also plain that there is room for workers from the West to help in the establishment of social service of different kinds in the East: for the church in Europe and America, with all its failures, has in the nature of things more experi-

ence in the facing of this problem than has the Eastern church and more men and women trained to deal with it.

The third line is education. In rural areas the Christian schools have undergone great changes as they have been adapted more closely to the needs of the rural communities. There lies in the industrial areas a similar task for the educator, more complex than in the rural areas, for he has to educate in and for a changing, confused, and developing society. We do not suggest that education is a task only for Christians, but it is reasonably certain that in many areas the leadership in initiative and adaptation will lie with them.

The fourth line of action lies in making the Church itself a more real and effective fellowship. The Church ought to be, and can be, in itself, by virtue of its own life, a potent instrument of reconciliation and healing. The violence of the taunts that are hurled at it for not fulfilling this duty are the best proof of the instinctive recognition, even by its critics and enemies, of its true rôle. If the Church is a brotherhood in which the Kingdom is present, as it were, by anticipation, the earnest of what shall be, then in any given instance it ought to be possible for the Church to make real within its own fellowship, even in the face of conditions that deny human brotherhood, the power of love and friendship.

We may end by stating on what it is to be hoped that discussion at the Jerusalem Meeting will shed light.

(1) What measures can be taken to spread more information and awaken more interest among Christian people, both in the West and in the East, in regard to this subject of industrial development and the problem of human relationships therein?

(2) How can the workers, indigenous and foreign, whom the different fields need, be found, trained, and supported?

(3) What is the nature of the help that the Christians of the countries of the East and Africa desire from the Christians of the West? (For example, the aid of trained researchers, the provision of a number of trained social workers, the influencing of business concerns in the West which control industry in the East, etc.)

Part Two

SUPPLEMENTARY PAPERS

PREPARED SUBSEQUENTLY TO THE JERUSALEM MEETING

The following papers have been prepared subsequently to the Jerusalem Meeting in response to requests made by the officers of the Council for the purpose of furnishing additional information that could not be obtained in time to be included in the preliminary paper. Except in the case of statements and recommendations adopted by formal vote, the International Missionary Council is not responsible for any opinions or statements expressed in its publications.

CHAPTER II

MISSIONS AND ECONOMICS IN LATIN AMERICA

The Reverend Samuel Guy Inman, LL.D.

I. INTRODUCTION

LATIN AMERICA is the victim of a bad start. The *conquistadores* from Spain and Portugal superimposed themselves by firearms and superior organization on an immense Indian population. Great landed estates were created for these overlords, and the Indians were assigned to work on them. The government and the Church as well as individuals got their assignments of Indian labor for building great cathedrals, convents, and public buildings, some of which remain to-day as examples of the finest architecture extant. The great landed estates and the system of forced labor, or peonage, then established, have continued until to-day and form one of the two great economic problems of Latin America. The other problem is the dominance of foreign capital, which more than in any other part of the world, pervades the life of Latin America. The double exploitation carried on by these two systems has kept most of Latin America's industrial life largely the same as was the feudal system of Europe in the sixteenth century. But the exploited are awakening: the Indians are threatening; labor is organizing; women are demanding their rights; students are aligning themselves for reform. Such reform, however, threatens the vested interests of the landed proprietor, the Church, and the foreign investor. The great question for the Christian forces is whether they can mediate between the contending parties in such a way as to secure the human rights so long overdue for the suffering masses, while they prevent either a great overwhelming drive of modern economic forces, fatal to the soul, or the threatened revolt of the proletariat, deadly to the spirit of Christian brotherhood.

In any statement attempting to cover the twenty coun-

tries of Central and South America, it should be kept clearly in mind that Latin America is a loose terminology applied to a group of nations which differ widely in many fundamental respects. It is manifestly unjust to include Argentina, with its metropolitan capital city of 2,000,000 inhabitants, with sixty-five per cent. of its population literate, with foreign commerce sometimes reaching $2,000,000,000 a year, and a large immigrant population, in the same terms with Honduras where the whole country has 650,000 people, only a sixtieth part of Argentina's foreign commerce, a literacy of hardly twenty per cent. and practically no immigration movement; just as it is misleading to put in the same category Mexico, which has become considerably industrialized, with advanced social legislation, with strong labor organization, and Colombia, with scarcely any factories, social legislation, or labor unions. So Uruguay and Paraguay, though next-door neighbors, with population and territory almost equal, differ profoundly, the former having one of the most advanced systems of education and of social legislation in the world, while the latter is far behind in these matters. Yet there is much justification for classifying all these countries together, as stated by one of their international gatherings, which declared them "united by bonds of origin, language, religion, and customs, by the common cause which they have defended and the similarity of their institutions."

The Population

Before dealing with the two outstanding industrial situations, *latifundia* or great landed estates, and dependence on foreign capital, we should recall a few basic facts concerning the population.

Classes of Population

A liberal estimate of the population of Latin America is 100,000,000, one-third in Portuguese-speaking Brazil, and two-thirds (less 2,500,000 in French-speaking Haiti) in the

eighteen Spanish-speaking republics. From the total of these three language-groups there should be subtracted some 16,000,000 Indians who live apart from the rest of the population, continuing the worship of their tribal gods and speaking their tribal languages.

Economic Position of Indians

Some forty per cent. of the 16,000,000 Indians of Latin America live in the lowlands and are generally savage. Their culture is the crudest. Swallowed up by the great tropical forests, they are as pagan as Central Africans or the wild tribes of New Guinea. They have been neglected and left in their primitive state, to become the prey of a slowly advancing wave of civilization, in which Christianity has played no part. They have been entirely at the mercy of traders, industrialists, and slave raiders. Brazil, in her early history, depended very largely upon the raids made by the Paulistas, or slave hunters from São Paulo, for her supply of labor. Though slavery is forbidden by all the nations of America, the application of this protection is often not extended to the savage Indians who live far removed from the shelter of the law. Their condition in many places has been aggravated by the overlapping of territorial claims, and the consequent impossibility of policing such disputed areas. The situation revealed in Hardenburg's *The Putumayo, the Devil's Paradise* and in Sir Roger Casement's official report to the British Government is probably paralleled in most of the rubber districts of interior South America. In Chile the valiant Araucanians that could never be conquered by Inca or Spanish arms have finally yielded to the gradual influence of the white man's fire-water and his persistent peaceful penetration of their territory. The Argentine Indians very largely ceased to be a factor in the national development after General Roca's ruthless campaign of 1879 on the southern pampas.

One of the causes for the recent Mexican Revolution was the exposure of the cruel and ruthless treatment of the Yaqui Indians by the Diaz régime, which killed them off like flies

as they were moved from their native homes in Sonora to work on the henequin, sugar, and coffee estates of Yucatan and other tropical districts.

Some sixty per cent. of the Indian population live in the highlands of the Andean republics, Mexico and Guatemala, descendants of great civilizations like the Inca and Maya. While the lowland Indians are rapidly dying out, those of the Andean highlands, of rugged physical constitution, moral above many of their Christian conquerors, keep the whites in fear of the day when the "Indiada" shall revolt. For they have every reason to do so, since from their high position as citizens of a great civilization they have become the slaves of the white man.

Away in isolated districts the agricultural tribes still hold land in common, as in Inca and Maya days, allotting so much soil to each family, and using common pasturage. The Mexican Government has recently returned much land to the Indians of which they had been deprived by the former régime. Indian labor in the highlands can probably never be replaced because Indians alone have sufficient lung capacity and the heart action to stand the strain. The serious revolt of the Indians in Bolivia in 1927, when the government had great difficulty in suppressing them, shows that the Indians are coming to the place where they are determined to assert their rights against exploitation.

Economic Divisions

Industrial statistics in Latin America are often not available. Census figures are seldom scientifically compiled. It is probably not far wrong, however, to divide the 100,000,000 population as follows:

	Per Cent.
Nomads, and tribes living on communal lands	10
Illiterate peons in economic bondage	60
Middle class (skilled labor, small merchants, teachers, etc.)	20
Intellectuals	10

II. THE LAND PROBLEM

The land problem has its effect upon the whole economic life of the people, giving rise to the problems of poverty, of extreme class distinction, of ignorance on the part of the masses, and, in a very real way, of most of their moral and spiritual questions.

The system of *latifundia*, that is, the possession of vast, almost unmeasured tracts by a few individuals, dates back to colonial days when the *conquistadores* were given great tracts that stretch from mountain to mountain, or from river to river. Even to-day one can travel whole days within the limits of a single estate. In the Argentine one hears of single holdings of 300,000, 500,000, and even up to 1,250,000 acres. These great estates, with the corresponding difficulty of securing small land-holdings, are the explanation of why immigrants find agricultural life difficult in Argentina and why her population is not increasing more rapidly. In Mexico, before the recent revolution, there was one estate of some 7,000,000 acres and there were many of 100,000 to 500,000 acres. Much of this land had been secured by foreigners, and at the close of the Diaz régime they owned estates totaling 54,000,000 acres.

Owners keep to the cities, living in wealth, ostentation, and luxury. Between them and the humble workers in their fields there is nothing in common.

From Central America down the west coast to Cape Horn, free agricultural labor scarcely exists. The peonage system is one of the crushing problems that the Latin American nations must face. The peon is tied to the land. When the property is sold the peons usually pass to the new owner. Theoretically free, they are practically unable to break away from their yoke. Yet they can be dismissed at the will of the owner.

Such a system can exist only where ignorance is rife. It is to the interest of the landowners that it should be perpetuated. There is, therefore, little effort made to raise the standards of living among these workers. Some at-

tempts are being made to reform this system. Mexico is the most notable example where the repartition of the land was one of the prime objects of the revolution. Peonage has been largely eliminated and by 1926 the government reported that 517,000 heads of families had received parcels of land for cultivation.

In the great nitrate fields of Chile, the sheep ranches of Patagonia, the *yerbales* of Paraguay, and the mines of Bolivia the abuse of the laborer is notorious. Even the city laborer is described by the Argentine sociologist, Juan A. García, as in many instances leading a "miserable life, in the most wretched huts, built upon waste land, a simple squatter on the vacant lots, eating the butcher's leavings; with not the least idea of social betterment, his situation is final, like that of his companions in misery, the Indian and the Negro." Such conditions are what lead writers like Gonzales Prada to a general pessimism, stated often in such expressions as "Peru is a sick organism; wherever the finger is applied to her, she exudes pus."

New Social Awakening

Dissatisfaction with these conditions is growing and there are some remarkable transformations taking place in the social structure of the continent. Formerly there were only two classes, the rich and the poor, the highly educated and the illiterate. While that condition existed there was little hope for the solution of South America's many social and political problems. With the gradual development of a middle class, with the introduction of a new consciousness of their rights among the laboring people, and with a new appreciation of social problems by the educated classes, most of which came about during and after the World War, there is a breaking up of the old fixed castes and to-day the social system of South America is in flux. Among university students, who formerly consisted chiefly of sons of government officials and others of the privileged classes preparing themselves to continue the ruling and exploiting of

the great mass of peon labor, many have recently changed their attitude and are now giving themselves to the education of the laborers and to working out with them a new democratic conception of national life.

Large numbers of women, heretofore prohibited from participating in the solution of great social and educational problems because of their seclusive limitation to their own family and social circles, have begun to take a part in the discussion of the great surging questions stirring their nations. Many women and children have entered industry and their protection has become an important problem.

Significant also is the new spiritual movement. In the beginning of the history of these republics all of them recognized a union between Church and State. The antagonism of the official church, however, to universal public education and to many democratic processes, and its clinging to the old industrial system had brought about the separation of a large part of the intellectuals from the Church, that group often becoming direct opponents to all religion. A few years ago it looked very much as though the leaders in South America were carrying that continent into a materialistic philosophy where religion would have little place in life. At present, however, there is a revival of interest in spiritual matters. And a Christianity which stresses the social teachings of Jesus as a basis for a new economic life finds many interested listeners.

The Labor Movement

The new labor movement is the most astounding of all the social influences now transforming Latin America. Until recently no such thing as labor unrest was ever heard of. The idea of social revolt and of the securing of better conditions through such means was absent. But sooner or later the industrial age had to invade Latin America. The personal relationships between employer and employee were severed. Workmen began to come together in large numbers in cities, where they saw a new life, and began to

hear of the outside world and its economic problems. When workmen first heard of the strike as practised by their brothers in Europe and North America, and essayed to invoke it, they were promptly met with a show of military force and compelled to desist. A strike was a revolution. But to-day the strike is recognized as legitimate in many of these countries.

While unions are becoming strong in some of the more advanced countries, labor in the tropical part of the continent is still far from any idea of organization for the purpose of forcing better conditions. Faint signs of an awareness of an outside world-struggle are seen, however, in the little sheets in backward countries which publish material like the following:

"Listen, Brother, to my notes of red with which my sun is vibrating; I sing to life,—death to death! I go planting roses made of love and truth. Anarchism is my liberating thought. I am the Word which rises in humanity's darkest night and scatters all its pain. Listen, Sister, it is time to rise and greet the morning light which kisses our darkest suffering!"

Far different from these incoherent cries, heard in the night in Peru, are the strong voices in some of the other countries threateningly demanding new rights and privileges. In the last few years, in certain Latin American countries, the working class has passed definitely from the status of an inert mass of humanity, to be bought as cheaply as possible by foreign and domestic capitalists, and has become a class-conscious body of workingmen, a political force to be reckoned with.

There has been a welter of strikes on every hand, accompanied usually by violence and stressing the recognition of the union to a greater extent than the need of higher wages or shorter hours. The cost of living has been a source of discontent everywhere. No reliable index numbers exist, but price levels in a number of countries are probably slightly above those in the United States. Depreciated currency, fluctuating exchange values, and the refusal of the

propertied classes to pay their fair share of the taxes have increased the pressure even more. In Paraguay even the storekeepers shut up shop and joined the population of workers, many of whom, before the war, came and went between Europe and the East Coast countries in a regular seasonal flux. The governments, particularly in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Cuba, have arrested hundreds of suspected foreign leaders, whose success in organizing disturbances must have been due in large part to a discontent lying everywhere close to the surface, which flared up in the wheatfields and the back reaches of the *quebracho* forests as easily as along the crowded waterfronts of the cities.

The Pan-American Federation of Labor, organized in 1918, shows the endeavor of the American Federation of Labor to extend its help to the workmen of Latin America. This Pan-American organization has now held a number of important conferences. Its influence has been limited largely to the North American continent. It has sent several deputations to South America, but the organizations in the less progressive countries are not yet developed to a point where they can appreciate the program of the American Federation and labor leaders in Argentina and Chile have regarded the program of the federation in the United States as entirely too conservative and suspect the movement of capitalistic sympathies.

The Federation has adopted a set of principles which demands not only right treatment for the individual laborer, but recognizes that just political and economic relations between powerful and weak nations are closely connected with justice for the laborer. The Federation has taken a strong stand against intervention in Mexico by the United States and has recently protested vigorously against the way the dictators of Venezuela, Peru, and Cuba have treated labor.

A number of governments have recently established departments of labor, with secretaries in the national cabinet. The International Labor Office at Geneva has had considerable influence in this new move and it is highly regarded in Latin America. There have so far been few but formal

relationships established with the Geneva Office and there is great need for a closer working program to help solve many pressing questions of labor abuses.

Labor legislation has advanced considerably in the last few years in countries like Mexico, Uruguay, Argentina, and Chile. Article 123[1] of the Constitution of Mexico provides probably for the most advanced labor legislation of any political constitution of to-day. But fundamental situations must be changed before much of this legislation will become effective.

The Pan-American Federation and the International Labor Bureau both offer opportunities for coöperation for Christian forces that desire to study and work for the improvement of conditions of the common people, so greatly needed.

It would be entirely misleading to regard these new social developments as anything more than an encouragement to those desiring the solution of the great economic questions. They are active only in a few of the more progressive urban communities, and even then they are as yet only touching the surface of the great problems. *A Sick Continent* is the title of a book by a South American which must still be recognized as applicable to these lands, not only from the economic but from many other standpoints.

Immigration

Latin America's problems will be greatly complicated by incoming foreigners. The next area of the world's surface to be settled by the surplus populations of the Old World will be Latin America.

For a century the stream has flowed toward the great open spaces in North America. But these are now closing their doors. Latin America and Africa alone remain available; and of these two, Latin America has the greater drawing power at present. Already great numbers of Italians, Germans, and others have gone there. It is inevitable that greater numbers will turn their faces in that direc-

[1] For text of Article 123 see Appendix, p. 155.

tion in the future. Brazil has sought Japanese labor for her coffee plantations. There are now about 70,000 and they continue to come. Peru has thousands of Japanese in her cotton and rice fields, and Cuba has many Chinese. Syrians and Armenians are beginning to dominate the small retail business in several countries. Scandinavian and German farmers are increasing rapidly in Argentina, where they are greatly needed. "To govern is to populate," said Alberdi, in pointing out the problems brought about by the great scarcity of population in these countries.

The immigration progress now being made in Latin America, the inducements being offered by Latin American governments, the condition in Europe and in the Orient, the restriction of immigration by the United States, and the wealth of steamship service to Latin America, all indicate a great flow of immigration, with all its attendant advantages and problems.

III. DOMINANCE OF FOREIGN CAPITAL

The dependence of all Latin American countries on financial help from the outside has been notable since the beginning of their independence. Various foreign interventions over financial questions debts have taken place, among them that by England in Argentina, by France in Mexico, and by the United States in Santo Domingo.

Political leaders have often sold the remarkable physical resources of their countries for foreign loans. When these funds have been spent recklessly or used as rewards for partizan support, revolutionary movements have proved able to force the old party out. The reform party in such instances needs money to carry out its program and new loans are made, being disbursed often in the payment of political debts incurred during the party's struggle for control. Thus foreign loans pile up until the country is practically owned by foreign bankers and the slightest fluctuation of political sentiment in the debtor country immediately becomes a matter of economic as well as political interest in the country that has bought its bonds.

President Wilson described the situation as follows:

"There is one peculiarity about the history of the Latin American States of which I am sure they are keenly aware. You hear of 'concessions' to foreign capitalists in Latin America. You do not hear of concessions granted to foreign capitalists in the United States. They are not granted concessions. They are invited to make investments. States that are obliged, because their territory does not lie within the main field of modern enterprise and action, to grant 'concessions' are in this condition, that foreign interests are apt to dominate their domestic affairs, a condition of affairs always dangerous and apt to become intolerable."

Honduras may be taken as an example of the extremes to which this dependence upon foreign capital may lead a nation. One of the first loans was floated in Europe in 1866 for a face value of $5,000,000. The bonds were issued at eighty and bore ten per cent. interest, and the proceeds were supposed to be used in the building of a railroad. But the railroad was not built. Probably not over $250,000 of the original $5,000,000 ever reached Honduras. The whole scheme was publicly denounced in the British Parliament. This sort of thing was accomplished so often at the expense of a weak people that the present foreign debt of Honduras is somewhere between 150 and 200 million dollars—authorities differing on the matter.

Mexico has had among her many wars a "Pastry War," brought about by a French baker's appeal to his government because some one upset his tray of pastry. In a note to the commander of the U. S. S. "Seminole" on July 15, 1869, the United States Secretary of the Navy told him to remain in Dominican waters as long as General Babcock, an adventurer, was there and "give him the moral support of your guns."

Adjustment of Claims

Whenever claims of foreigners against Latin American States have been submitted to commissions of experts, they have practically always found the claims to be largely ex-

aggerated. The case of the claims against Venezuela, which came near involving the United States in a war with a European power, shows that for the claims by citizens of Great Britain of 14,743,572 *bolívars*, 9,401,267 was awarded; Germany, claiming 7,376,685, was given 2,091,908; France, claiming 17,888,512, was given 2,667,079; the United States, claiming 81,410,952, was awarded 2,331,711; Italy, claiming 39,844,258, was given 5,785,962. The collection of pecuniary claims has always occupied much of the attention of diplomatic officers. The Drago Doctrine, holding that collection of debts is not a sufficient warrant for military intervention by a foreign government, and the Calvo Doctrine, maintaining that foreigners should limit their appeals to the courts of the country where their investments lie, have been argued by Latin Americans, but not so far fully accepted by outside governments.

Government Loans

In the early history of Latin America, Great Britain furnished her most of the foreign capital and the total investments of the British are to-day still slightly more than those of any other country. But in recent years the United States has poured into these countries enormous funds, in the form of loans to governments and investments in industrial enterprises, and is about to surpass all others. This is a part of the great new financial power of the United States developed since the World War. Of the $12,500,000,000 of foreign investments (exclusive of war debts) reported by the United States Department of Commerce in 1927, forty per cent., or about $5,000,000,000, was invested in Latin America. Investments in Colombia, for example, are now sixty times what they were sixteen years ago. In 1910 Cuban sugar properties were about equally divided among Cubans, Europeans, and Americans; now the holdings of the United States are twice as much as all others together. In 1919 the bankers of the United States lent to Latin American governments $20,900,000. In 1926 they lent them fifteen times that amount, or $317,708,200.

Some of the largest of these loans have involved criticism, among them that to Haiti, $16,000,000; Bolivia, $24,000,000; Cuba, $50,000,000; El Salvador, $6,000,000; Peru, $7,000,000. The Haitian loan, arranged through the Department of State, was protested by the Haitian-Dominican Independence Society as illegal because it was based on the military invasion by the United States and imposition of treaty through military pressure. As to the Cuban loan, the bankers announced it was "issued with the acquiescence of the United States Government." Party leaders of both houses of the Cuban Congress opposed the loan, describing it as "another link in the golden chain binding Cuba to the chariot of the United States." The Bolivian loan not only pledged customs duties to pay the loan but put the collection and fixing of these and other taxes of the country under the supervision of a fiscal commission of three persons, two of whom represent the North American bankers.

The Salvadorean loan provided for the collection of the customs by an American agent of the New York bankers and the referring of any differences between the lender and the borrower to the Secretary of State of the United States. He in turn agreed to refer the matter for final arbitration to a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. Taking advantage of this agreement, the bankers, in advertising the bonds stated:

"It is simply not thinkable that, after a Federal judge has decided any question or dispute between the bondholders and the Salvador Government, the United States Government should not take the necessary steps to sustain such decision. There is a precedent in a dispute between Costa Rica and Panama, in which a warship was sent to carry out the verdict of the arbitrators."

Financial relations between American bankers and the Peruvian Government, about which the exact facts are not easy to ascertain, resulted recently in the protest of President Leguía to the Department of State concerning actions of the New York firms. On October 10, 1924, there was announced the flotation of a loan of $7,000,000, part of a

$25,000,000 project, by New York interests, the bonds to be guaranteed by certain national revenues to be collected by the North American bankers.

United States citizens, either government officials or representatives of bankers, are now collecting revenues in Santo Domingo, Haiti, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Peru, and Bolivia. North American financial advisers are permanently employed in, or financial missions have recently visited, Cuba, Panama, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Colombia, Ecuador, and Chile. While no one would question the splendid scientific helpfulnes of some of these North American specialists, neither can he ignore the increasing sentiment similar to that expressed in the following comment:

"To-day the principal arm of imperialism in capitalistic America is the loan, its accompanying technical mission, collector of customs, and the consequent direct intervention of foreigners in the domestic business of the debtor. These weak States know this and yet they continue to solicit loans from the bankers. It is said that these loans are indispensable for the exploitation of the natural riches of the country; yet many of these countries are poorer than they have been before the loans were made."

The United States Senate has recently taken cognizance of this situation, a bill being introduced providing that United States government officials be prohibited from "(1) engaging the responsibility of the Government of the United States to supervise the fulfilment of financial arrangements between citizens of the United States and foreign governments, or (2) giving official recognition to any arrangement which may commit the Government of the United States to military intervention in order to compel the observance of alleged obligations, or to deal with any such arrangement except to secure settlement of claims through ordinary channels of law." This bill has so far failed to become a law.

Results of Foreign Investments

The inevitableness of the industrializing of Latin America and the good that foreign capital does in bringing modern

comforts to a people long deprived of them is cheerfully admitted. We are here, however, pointing out some of the human problems thereby created, in the solution of which Christian forces ought to concern themselves. The great influx of modern capital often causes extravagance and graft among public officials and private individuals. The imitation of rich countries in building extravagant public buildings, fine roads, and the latest mechanical devices will help a few foreign and native capitalists, but it often brings as many miseries in its train as does the mortgaging of the family homestead for a costly automobile. It is entirely probable that the future generation, which awakens to find its national resources pledged and its national life largely directed by outside capitalists, will denounce such bargains and refuse to comply with the terms. Investors will then call upon their governments to collect for them, showing that their mortgages are all in legal form.

Again, when nationals see foreign-owned public utilities making large returns on investments and these profits going out of the country, they tend to pass restrictive laws and set up boards of control to compel the companies to invest their capital where it will benefit the country itself. Fighting such restrictive legislation, the foreign corporation may use funds to influence officials charged with the enforcement of these regulations, or they may call on their government to fight such restrictions as being confiscatory.

The resultant immorality which upsets the whole national life and imperils international peace is illustrated by recent Mexican history. For many years a few foreign capitalists and a few Mexicans engaged in modernizing Mexico industrially under President Diaz. A group of young men, however, arose who were unwilling that their nation should longer keep its part of the bargain. So they adopted a policy of "Mexico for the Mexicans," which they considered perfectly just but which foreigners charged was confiscatory, calling on their governments to back their claims. In the ensuing struggle, some of the reforms have been saved. But with the enormous pressure brought by foreign influence

considerable of the program for the betterment of Mexico's peons has been lost.

Economic studies of situations in Cuba, Santo Domingo, Haiti, and Porto Rico, published during the last few years since the United States has dominated these countries, declare that the process of commercializing these peoples or forcing upon them the same kind of economic organization and land tenure that a great industrial country has, is bringing about great harm. The elimination of the small land-holder, who is being turned into a laborer on the great newly-formed sugar estates, owned by foreigners, threatens dire consequences to the life of these people. The industrializing and Anglo-Saxonizing of Latin America is feared not only by the citizens of these lands, but by many others who are eager to maintain the best in the Latin soul and see the Indian developed in his own strength.

Rivalries between the various foreign investors and traders in Latin America are giving considerable concern to those interested in world peace. The struggles between the North American and British oil interests in Mexico have had great influence on international politics and have been responsible for much corruption and revolution in Mexico. These same forces have come into bitter rivalries in Colombia, Venezuela, Costa Rica, and Bolivia. In a book just from the press, *We Fight for Oil*, by Ludwell Denny, the story of this struggle between the United States and Great Britain is told and the situation summed up as follows: "War is probable—unless the two empires seek through mutual sacrifice to reconcile their many conflicting interests." Various foreign interests to-day are battling for control in nitrates, rubber, railroads, public utilities, and great concessions for land in various Latin American countries.

Careful investigators are now regarding Latin America as the most promising field for furnishing the three great demands of the world to-day: food, room for overcrowded populations, and a market for surplus goods and capital. Capitalists, manufacturers, steamship directors, food economists, and political leaders in North America, Europe, and Japan,

are intently fixing their attention on those fallow lands. A German observer has lately described Latin America as the "Fair Helen" of the business world, whose charms are admired and favors sought by all industrial nations.

Can there be found a way for the proper use of foreign capital to help Latin America, struggling with an outworn industrial system, to adapt herself to modern conditions and contribute her part to modern life without, at the same time, stifling the legitimate desires of the Latin American worker for economic and social freedom and the wishes of the Latin American students to maintain the Latin soul in preference to being turned into practical Nordics?

IV. CHRISTIAN RESPONSIBILITY

Naturally the missionary forces are disturbed about the situation in Latin America which arises from increased economic dominance by those lands which are the very ones that have sent the missionaries to preach the Gospel of love and sacrifice. The missionaries from the United States find themselves in a peculiarly embarrassing position, because the growing political as well as economic influence of their country is believed to be favored by the missionary movement. One from Chile writes: "The imponderable influences within South America are all working silently against the United States and our evangelical cause cannot escape the hidden pressure. We must slough off all that savors of industrialism and emphasize everything that is essential to Christianity." The charge is heard with increasing frequency that Protestant missionaries are a part of the Anglo-Saxon industrial penetration.

It is a fair question for the churches of the United States that carry the major responsibility for mission work in Latin America, to ask themselves how far they may expect results from the work of the missionaries they send to Latin America so long as the conviction among many Latin Americans is that the United States is imperialistic and materialistic in its relations with its southern neighbors. At least it might be good strategy in the advancement of the

Kingdom of God to raise the question whether greater progress can be made in Latin America by sending more missionaries to preach a message of goodwill in those lands, or whether more advance would be made by helping those that are already there by working to remove some of the stumbling blocks placed there by the acts and attitudes of their countrymen engaged in commerce and diplomacy.

Have churches and Christian leaders really stopped to consider how difficult the message of the American missionary has been in Mexico while the Association for the Protection of American Rights was filling the United States with libels on Mexico; in Santo Domingo and Haiti, while the United States Marines ruthlessly established martial law in those lands; in Nicaragua, while American bombing planes are destroying hundreds of Nicaraguan lives; in Colombia, while its citizens read our boasts of how we took Panama? Have we thought of how great is the handicap of the North American missionaries in Argentina because of the Naval Mission maintained by their government in Brazil, when many believe that this mission signifies the United States Government's desire for these countries to build up their armies and navies in order that they may be good customers of our munitions factories, and when Argentina feels that such a strengthening of Brazil's navy means that she must herself draw up a new program of armaments?

Certainly it is clear that the task of Christian churches in the countries that are sending their economic forces to these lands is not only to send messengers of the Gospel to the people, but to help work out a way for the Gospel to be applied in the solution of the great economic and social questions brought about by the new situation. It also seems clear that the Christian Church within Latin America must prepare its citizenship to face these overwhelming problems intelligently and with a Christ-like spirit of honesty, justice, and brotherliness. If the Christian Church cannot find the solution for the new industrial problem in Latin America, industrialism will soon eliminate the Church from any effective influence in those lands.

CHAPTER III

INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION AMONG PRIMITIVE PEOPLES

Harold A. Grimshaw, M.Sc.

NO one will argue that the industrialism of the Occident has produced a society which is satisfactory, either in the economic or in any higher sense. Its defects are patent, and it is not my purpose here to expose them. But I wish to consider, first, whether we are not, by our present industrial and commercial policies in colonies, reproducing even in an exaggerated form the evils associated with our own early industrial evolution, and secondly, whether it is not possible not only to avoid the worst of those "growing pains" but also to aim at and eventually establish a social organization free from at least some of the defects of our own.

I. EVILS OF OUR PRESENT INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL POLICIES

As to my first question, the evidence given in the pages of this report is, to my mind, conclusive. It would be easy to extend it, to recall the horrors of the past and of the present, to point to diminishing populations, disorganized society, increased alcoholism, increased disease, and debased morality among primitive peoples. It is equally possible to indicate tendencies and policies which must inevitably, if past experience be trustworthy, lead to the continuance and probably the intensification of these social evils.

Colonial Control

Happily for the honor of the colonial powers, it is also possible to detect light in the darkness of the picture. It is true to say nowadays that the welfare of subject populations is at least as important in the eyes of administrations as their productivity, and sometimes more important. This is true, of course, in varying degree, varying not only ac-

cording to the goodwill of the responsible administrator—a matter much too dependent on chance to continue to be as important as it is at present—but also according to the conception of policy in regard to colonies held by the different mother-countries, and according to the accidental reasons which have led to the taking over and administration of colonies. In the British Colonial Empire a certain stand-offishness combined with paternalism has sometimes succeeded extraordinarily well in comparison with other policies; there is evidence, however, that it becomes inadequate once a certain degree of evolution is reached by the people thus administered. The French policy of "assimilation," under which the Annamite or Senegalese or North African is asked to consider himself a Frenchman, is somewhat negatived by the existence of the inferior civil status known as the *indigénat*, and does not apparently succeed better than the British. The Dutch policy, which has produced vast riches and a dense population in Java, might be characterized as one of severe justice; it has not produced a native society free from the evils that affect the West, and it has evolved certain apparent disruptive tendencies. In the Portuguese Colonies everything appears now to depend upon the force of character and the goodwill of the local authorities in the colonies themselves; a long history of maladministration has left an Augean stable which is heart-breaking to contemplate. American control over subject peoples reflects the fact that in the United States themselves great financial interests have not yet been brought adequately under the control of law and into line with the general interest. Present-day Italy appears to be pursuing a frankly imperial colonial policy, and finally Belgium's honest and sincere attempt to wipe out the stain of the Congo record (for which she cannot fairly be held responsible) is seriously hampered by the temptation of great riches.

The Problem of the European

In all of them, without exception, the great problem of to-day is, fundamentally, how to bring the native to work

harder than he has hitherto been compelled or felt obliged to do. In his own interest it may be admitted at once that this must be accomplished. A higher standard of comfort and well-being for himself, a further stage in his evolution, demands of him, just as it does of the Westerner, an increased effort. Unhappily, it is not only this motive which is at work. The Western man has found that his own further progress can be realized not only by his own effort, but by that of his less happily situated fellow men in the tropics. More and more he depends, now for his luxuries, soon for his necessities as his standard of life advances—for the luxuries of one generation easily become the necessities of the next—upon the labor of the African or the Asiatic. Hence the pressure to produce which falls with rapidly increasing weight upon the latter.

The Position of the Native

The call upon him has increased astoundingly during the last two decades; I doubt indeed whether any parallel is to be found in the economic history of the world. Recent inventions have, by accident it would seem, almost all called for raw materials from the tropics; recent advances in knowledge concerning the production, manufacture, and conservation of food-stuffs have added to the burden, as has the discovery in tropical areas of valuable metals and minerals.

In one sense—the sense which would be effective if the call were made upon independent peoples capable of directing their own affairs—this situation would be their great opportunity. But under present circumstances it is not so much their opportunity as their misfortune.

It is perhaps simplest to estimate what the industrial revolution among backward peoples means by a comparison with the same revolution in our own Western countries. Whatever doubts one may have in our own case as to the revolutionary nature of the change which came over our social and economic life with the advent of modern industrial conditions, one can have no hesitation in applying the

term "revolution," with its implication of rapidity and overturning, to the same change when it takes place among primitives. It is a real revolution. With us the change came relatively slowly. We were to some extent prepared: for centuries we had been gradually passing over from subsistence farming and manufacture for local needs to farming and manufacture for commerce and even for export. Among primitive people there has been little or none of this preparatory evolution; they have for the most part labored for subsistence and subsistence only, and the change is therefore all the more violent.

Moreover, the change is not due to an expansion of the needs or desires or ambitions of the peoples themselves; it is imposed upon them from outside, by persons who have no direct share in their aspirations, and who are brought into their midst by the desire to benefit themselves. The "profit motive," so eloquently denounced at Jerusalem by Bishop McConnell, here acts almost entirely without restraint and acts also through persons alien to the mass of the population. The restraints which moderated its ill effects in our own cases either do not exist in the areas we are discussing, or are so feeble as to be unimportant. There is, for example, no communion of feeling between the worker and the employer, no sense of common interest, of common nationality, which might tend to a mitigation of the lot of the bottom dog. The worker has no political power, no direct influence on the policies of the aliens administering his affairs; still less has he the possibility of successful revolt, either in arms or by way of strike. He has not even the knowledge of good and evil in regard to labor conditions. He is unorganized: any attempt at combined action on his part is foredoomed to failure in the face of the might of his exploiters. He is in fact, and in most cases, not permitted to organize; the governing races, perhaps, mistrust his ability to limit himself to "trade-union action" and fear "direct action."

Even less than the European worker does he participate in the results of his increased activities. Wages are gen-

erally abominably low, and if they were higher it is questionable whether they would be wisely spent. It is true that very frequently wages are not the most important factor in determining a native's choice of employment; harassed as he is, he seeks amelioration of his lot in better conditions rather than in higher wages. It is characteristic of his case, perhaps, that as yet he seeks negatives rather than positives. For him the absence of cruelty, of blows and whipping, of crushing daily work is often more important than the positive advantages of higher wages. In the profits accruing from his activities his share is small or non-existent; even his country itself participates little. These profits go to swell the riches and increase the comfort of others, more "enlightened" than he. Consequently, when he is "down and out" there is no poor-relief on which he has the right to call, no "dole," no provision for sickness or accident—for all of which the industries of more developed lands must now provide.

I do not think the point needs further elaboration. The "industrial revolution" among backward peoples is by *a priori* reasoning likely to be more devastating in its effects than it was in our Western lands, and we have abundant evidence now to demonstrate that that reasoning is justified by the event.

II. CREATING A BETTER SOCIAL ORDER

I come then to my second point, where I ask whether it is not possible to avoid the worst effects of the revolution and at the same time to secure the establishment amongst these people of an order of society which will not repeat the defects of our own. Let it be said at once that much is being attempted, and that something has been done. There are many instances of enlightenment among colonial administrators, of courage against enemies from within and from without, which justify one in going forward with hope.

There are, it seems to me, two aspects of our problem: the first is the adequate restraining of the action of the "profit

motive," and the second is its replacement by a higher and different motive, namely, the creation of an order of society among these people, founded, to quote the Treaties of Peace, upon social justice.

Restraining the Profit Motive

With the first of these matters is bound up the whole system of labor protection, the abolition of slavery, and of those forms of labor which have been wittily described as "Slabor," the regulation of hours and wages, the protection of women and children, the insurance against sickness, accident, and old age, the provision of adequate housing accommodation, education, food—all those measures which our ultra-Socialist friends used to describe as "palliatives," which can and do co-exist with the present Western industrial organization of society, and the financing of which is provided from the gains of industry. We must see to it that the gains accruing from the industry of primitive peoples—gains on the whole higher than those obtainable in the West—are not liberated from these charges. In effect, this means seeing to it that the worker shall benefit in a higher proportion from his labors than he does at present. But this is not all: the costs of general administration also must be borne by these gains—there is no other source. And here again the native should receive greater attention than he has hitherto received. The new policy, laid down in connection with the areas under mandate, must be extended to all similar colonial areas, and must be interpreted in the most liberal sense. Briefly, it is this: that the policy of the administration should be directed in the interests of the native peoples. What a difference one would see in the budgets of a vast number of colonies if this principle were rightly interpreted and applied! With the intense need of these areas for education, should we still see budgets where a beggarly one per cent. of the revenue is devoted to this purpose? Public hygiene, the provision of water, of means of communication, poor-relief—in almost every case I have no doubt that immensely more can be done, and can increasingly be

done, if a financial policy tending to the retention in these areas of a greater proportion of the riches drawn from them could be put into practice. It will be objected that such a policy might have the effect of hindering the investment of capital. My reply is that the present tendency is frequently towards a too rapid investment of capital in these areas, with resultant labor burdens which the population is unable to bear. Capital comes rapidly where profits are high, and profits are usually high where the proportion of the wealth obtained devoted to the interests of the native population is small! The Permanent Mandates Commission has suggested the calling of a halt in cases where the industrial development is obviously having ruinous social effects, and in my view this is the highest wisdom. The opposite view is merely the "get-rich-quick" policy, applied not by the native peoples, but by alien speculators.

Another objection will occur to many minds. Not all these areas are endowed with the riches necessary, even when the labor of their peoples is fully organized, to provide for the social policy I have outlined. That is true also of Europe and of the West. There are factors which will tend to equalize matters, if left to their own working. Of these probably the most effective is freedom of movement and of intercourse. There is a second possibility also: some colonial powers have not been afraid to incur expenditure from their own revenues to aid their weaker dependencies—not, I am afraid, always from the purest of motives. But the extension of the ideas of interdependence and mutual aid among nations fostered by the creation and working of the League of Nations will, I hope, strengthen the high ideal that we are members one of another, and that there is not only a "noblesse" but a fortune of situation that makes the rendering of help to others a sacred duty.

Social or Humane Considerations

So far, I have not touched directly on the second question, whether it is not possible to create a system of society among these primitive peoples which shall not repeat the

defects of our own. Here we are on less sure ground, and readers may well ask whether, if the policy (admittedly "palliative") above outlined be carried out, the resultant social organization may not be greatly superior to ours, while not perhaps differing from it in nature, and not entirely free from the same defects and the same dangers. Here, too, in despite of certain experiments such as the social organization of British West Africa, we have not much satisfactory evidence to go on. But it seems to me that these are possibilities which should not be neglected. We already are alive to some of the evils of "capitalist production" in these areas. The *concessionnaire* system is dead in many colonies, and no modern administration will again permit, it is to be hoped, the incursion of this soulless scourge upon defenseless peoples. Similarly, the value of other large capitalist organizations, even when not given the powers and privileges of concessions, has been doubted, and there is a marked tendency to limit where possible the extent of individual industrial concerns, and to reserve to the natives themselves, sometimes as individuals, sometimes as social communities or organized coöperative societies, the exploitation of the wealth of their country. In such cases the administration must, and does usually, undertake the task of education and general supervision, sometimes also of financing or facilitating the financing of the enterprises. Coöperative production and sale has the effect of more widely distributing the riches obtained from labor, and of preventing or at least retarding the development of an exclusive employing class. And in this connection it must not be forgotten that a native employing class tends perhaps to be less influenced by general social or humane considerations than the more experienced white employers.

III. CONCLUSION

The whole situation may perhaps be described in a few words, which I hope will not affright any one in this connection. The task of the administration in these areas is

not, in my opinion, merely to "hold the ring" but to intervene actively. Either it should itself undertake the development of the riches of the country—and this, I think, it should always do in the case of extensive works where native initiative and native capital cannot suffice for the purpose,—or it should aid, encourage and supervise native effort. In both cases the principle of the mandate I have cited must be the determining guide: administration in the interests of the natives themselves.

Otherwise, I hardly see the possibility of winning the battle for the future of these peoples. The forces arrayed against them are formidable and formidably armed. Those in their favor have so far fought a losing battle: the evils of industrialism have gained upon them. They are relatively few in number: a few colonial administrators who see further than the present, but little-instructed, public opinion. (I must hasten to say that there are many administrators who see the evils of the present and who combat them most courageously, and that the general policy of many colonial ministries is becoming more and more humanitarian.) Missionaries have exercised a restraining influence at times, but not, in my opinion, with all the force they might have employed. They, and medical men and women, and a large number of officials have devoted themselves to the welfare of the natives and have often made the last sacrifice.

But devotion is not enough. They have so far failed in the fight for lack of knowledge, lack of support, lack of a policy. On missionaries, who go so far and learn so much, more than on any other group, falls the duty, I believe, of supplying that necessary knowledge, organizing the support, and taking the initiative in the formulation and application of a policy in regard to primitive peoples which shall result in their being brought forward gradually to the light of civilization, and of a civilization not fouled, as is ours, by the blight of industrialism.

Writing after the meeting at Jerusalem, I can here express my profound joy and satisfaction that the Protestant

missionary societies there represented have determined to undertake the organization of their knowledge on the social welfare of the primitive peoples to whom they minister and to create an organ of research, which will, I am certain, have the most beneficial effects. What is called for is concentration of effort in the three directions I have named: the collection and collation of knowledge, the education of public opinion and the organization of public support, and the formulation and advocacy of policy. It seems to me that the new research organization inspired by the Spirit of Christ and armed with knowledge is destined to play a vital part in assuring for millions of our less-favored brothers a real "place in the sun." May God speed its efforts!

Part Three

THE COUNCIL'S DISCUSSION

In the plenary sessions of the Council, the subject of Industry was presented in two addresses by Mr. R. H. Tawney of the London School of Economics and by the Reverend Bishop F. J. McConnell of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The subject was then referred without discussion to a sectional meeting, which drafted a statement which was presented in a plenary session and after discussion was adopted by the Council.

CHAPTER IV

CHRISTIANITY IN AN INDUSTRIAL CIVILIZATION

R. H. Tawney, B.A.

NO one can be more conscious than I that it is highly presumptuous for one who has never since childhood been further east than Jerusalem, and to whom most of the subjects discussed by this conference are an unexplored field, to address men and women who are spending their lives in coping with them. The reason why I have been asked to do so is, I suppose, that, profoundly as the setting of history, race, religion, and economic environment differ in East and West, the social and ethical issues raised by industrial civilization are increasingly common to both, that it is the West which has stamped on that civilization its peculiar character and which has been the principal agent in its expansion, and that it is in the West that these issues have aroused most discussion and evoked most criticism.

But, while it is in the West that the great industry has its historical roots, it has ceased, it is evident, to be in any sense confined to it. Of all the characteristics which distinguish an industrial from an agricultural civilization almost the most impressive is its infectious character—its power of expansion and permeation. A century ago industrialism was a British, and half a century ago a European, phenomenon. To-day it is world-wide. For an industrialized Europe requires raw materials for its industries, markets for its manufactures, and fields of investment for its surplus capital. The Industrial Revolution in Europe, therefore, had as its inevitable counterpart the creation of a new system of economic relations outside it. It was not an accident but an historic necessity that the generation which followed 1870, and which saw the mobilization of European economic energy on a scale unknown in the past, saw also

the outburst of economic imperialism which marked the forty years before 1914.

That movement of dissolution and reconstruction, of leveling old social systems and building new ones, which everywhere has resulted from the establishment of Western industrial civilization, is still in its infancy, and, in spite of reactions against it, in spite of attempts to dam the flood and repel the invasion, the forces behind it are, in my judgment, too powerful to be arrested, even were it desirable to arrest them. As a consequence, at the very moment when, in spite of its glittering external prosperity, industrial civilization is losing much of its moral authority in the countries which gave it birth, at the very moment when Europe is staggering under the misuse of its own material triumphs, and when men are seeking with ever-increasing insistence for a new synthesis which may make the fabric of economic civilization the servant, instead of the master, of the human spirit—that civilization is striding with unexampled rapidity to the conquest of countries unprepared for it by their history, where it is not a natural growth but an exotic importation, where restrictions imposed by the law, by public opinion, and by the power of the State are frequently weak, and where the peculiar social stratification which it has produced in Europe and America is crossed and complicated by differences not merely of class but of race.

I do not at all desire to obscure the light or deepen the shadows. No one who is familiar with the conditions of pre-industrial society, as they existed in England down to the middle of the eighteenth century and on the Continent of Europe down to the middle of the nineteenth, or as they exist to-day in the less economically developed parts of the world, can entertain for a moment the illusion that avarice and economic oppression are the discovery of the twentieth century or the monopoly of the West, or forget the load of suffering which modern economic civilization has lifted from the shoulders of mankind. But it is evident that in the conditions in which it is now developing, industrialism raises old problems with a new intensity. The question whether

the world outside Europe will travel the European economic road, between dazzling material progress on the one hand and squalor and class-hatred on the other, or whether it will learn, as Europe has not yet learned, not only to conquer nature but to be the master of its own soul, seems to me to be among two or three of the most vital issues with which the next generation is faced. It is the relation of the churches to that question which is, I suppose, the main subject of interest to the Council.

I. A RELIGIOUS QUESTION

It is, I would emphasize in the first place, a religious question, because it is concerned with the conditions of spiritual growth and vitality, with the ethical relations between the individual and his fellows, with the conduct of human beings in society and the reactions of the social order upon the moral health of human beings. It is sometimes suggested, by thinkers whose character and learning demand attention, that the attempt to apply the ethics of the New Testament to social institutions rests, of its very nature, upon highly questionable assumptions. It implies that Christianity has a message to deliver, not merely to individuals but to groups and societies, that it involves some distinctive outlook on the world of social and economic activity, some preference for one type of social order over another, and that it is the duty of Christians to let that preference be known, and, as far as possible, to make it effective in action. All this, it might be said, so far from being self-evident, is highly disputable and probably fallacious. Religion is a thing of the spirit. To externalize it is to degrade it. The duty of the Christian is, not to express opinions as to the rights or wrongs of social organization, but to influence individual character. His method is like that of the educationist, who must not prejudice his pupil's mind for or against particular applications of his teaching, but must teach the truth as he sees it, in confidence that it will find its own application for itself. He

must accept the economic and political systems, whatever those systems may be, and must confine himself to aiding individuals to attain a fuller spiritual life within them, without concerning himself with the merits or defects of the systems themselves.

That position is adopted by many men of lofty character and sincere convictions. There is obviously truth in it which should command our sympathy. Christianity is not a system of humanitarian ethics, nor is the Church an association for social reform; and a religion which is accepted for utilitarian reasons, however lofty the utilitarianism may be, is not a religion at all. But though there is truth in this emphasis on the individual, it is, at best, only a half truth, and the half which it suppresses is precisely that, it seems to me, which it is most important for our generation to grasp. Its errors are not in its affirmations but in its negations, and the answer to it should come, in the first place, not from those who are interested in social improvement and seek an ally in religion, but from those who have a high sense of the claim of religion to control, not a part, but the whole of human life, and who realize that to ask the churches to abdicate that part of life which is concerned with social conduct and economic relations is at once to betray the churches' historical mission, and to drive the wedge of an impossible dualism into the life of the spirit.

For, surely, whatever else Christianity may be, it is at least a body of teaching which affirms that the nature of God and man is such that, only in so far as men endeavor to live their lives in accordance with the principles expressed in the life and teaching of Our Lord, can they expect to realize the highest values of which human beings are capable, and that, compared with that effort, all other things are of secondary importance. On the austere and almost paradoxical character of the principles themselves it is not for me to dwell. Most men at some time or other in their lives must, I suppose, have felt some sympathy with the Greek prince to whom rumors came of the teaching of St. Paul:

"Certain slaves,
Who landed on this isle preached him and Christ,
And as I gathered from a bystander,
Their doctrine could be held by no sane man."

The decision that, in spite of all appearances, the only tolerable life is one which attempts to embody these principles is, I suppose, what is meant by the word faith. But for the ordinary method by which they are made to appear less impracticable, the method which consists in limiting their application to those departments of human affairs in which their claims are least exacting, in drawing a sharp distinction between a change of heart and a change of the social order, and saying that the former must precede the latter, there seems to be no foundation either in the teaching of the New Testament, or in that of the Church at its most vigorous periods, or in reason. Because God's Kingdom is not of this world, it does not follow that this world is not part of His Kingdom. We must beware of the not uncommon fallacy of saying that what we desire is a change of heart, while meaning that what we do not desire is a change of anything else.

In reality, this whole distinction between the life of the spirit and the fabric of society is a false antithesis, which it should be the duty of a Christian community to overcome. The Bishop of Manchester, with his customary frivolity, once observed to me that the only purely spiritual phenomena are good intentions, and that we know what region of the universe is paved with them. Institutions, social organization, economic activity, property rights, international relations—these things are not a lifeless mechanism devoid of spiritual significance. They have their being in the spirit of man and nowhere else. They are a crystallization of spiritual interests, preferences, appetites, and ideals. It is these, and not the phrases uttered by moralists, which are the clue to the quality of the spiritual life of each country and each generation. They supply the environment within which religion must work. They mould the character to which it must appeal. They determine whether the life of the indi-

vidual shall be free or servile, responsible or the sport of forces which it cannot control, a long struggle for personal self-advancement and against personal loss, or touched by dedication to some end transcending personal interests. It is not because modern industrial civilization plunges men in poverty that the conscience of an increasing part of mankind is in revolt against it; for, as a matter of fact, it has brought to even the poorest of them a degree of comfort unknown in the past. The source of their discontent is not economic but spiritual. It is that they feel that the system under which they live, and which, as individuals, they cannot change, confronts them in the daily relations of the factory, the counting-house, and the market-place with principles sharply contrasted with those which they have been taught to accept as the criteria of their personal lives. But you cannot in practice maintain two incompatible standards of morality side by side. You cannot win the individual to a life of service and self-sacrifice if the social environment within which he is set is dominated by a ruthless economic egotism. You cannot at once preach the religion of Christianity and practise the religion of material success, which is the creed of a great part of the Western world and is the true competitor of Christianity for the allegiance of mankind. To divorce religion from the matters of social organization and economic activity which occupy nine-tenths of the life of nine-tenths of mankind, on the ground that they are common and unclean, is to make them unclean, and ultimately to destroy religion in the individual soul to which you have attempted to confine it.

It must be the task of Christianity, I submit, to overcome that divorce. It must overcome it not in order to secularize the churches, but in order to spiritualize society. It is not a question of allowing economic interests to encroach on spiritual interests, but of dedicating man's struggle with nature, which is what, properly understood, his industry is, to the service of God, in order that it may no longer be a struggle with his fellow men. It is not a question of diluting the arduous claims of Christianity, but of asserting its right

to conquer a new province. It is not a question of the Church's allying itself with this political party or that, but of its defining its own position and allowing political parties to adjust, as they think best, their own attitude to it. What is needed, in short, I would venture to suggest, is that the Church should resume the task of creating a Christian sociology the elements of which, designed for the conditions of a simpler age, it once possessed, but which, partly through its own divisions, partly through the progress of sciences inspired by a different conception of human character and destiny, partly through mere bewilderment at the complexity of the new economic order which arose with the advance of the great industry, it abandoned when modern industrial civilization was in its infancy to the loss of its own spiritual power and of spiritual guidance to the whole of mankind.

II. GOVERNING PRINCIPLES

Such a body of Christian doctrine must be the product of the collective mind of Christians working on generations of experience, but it is not difficult, perhaps, to indicate the main principles upon which it is likely to rest. That human personality is sacred, and that the materialism which sacrifices to economic interests the welfare of human beings —the health and development of children, and the freedom and responsibility which should be the right of men—is an odious outrage on the image of God; that human industry should be a life of fellowship in service, not a struggle for self-advancement; that society has a corporate responsibility to use its power to secure for all its members the conditions of spiritual and physical well-being—there are few who would suggest that to the Christian such statements are other than platitudes, or that they receive a more than highly imperfect expression in the life of nominally Christian societies. They are obviously compatible with the most divine forms of technique and organization. But, general though they are, they offer nevertheless a criterion by which the spirit expressed in the industrial system may be tested

and the phenomena accompanying industrial expansion may be seen in a new light. While indiscriminate denunciation of modern industrialism is obviously out of place, so also is indiscriminate approval, and it will not be questioned, I think, that both in the West and in the East industrial civilization, with all its advantages, has created and surrounded with a halo of almost mystical prestige a system of human relations which is sharply antithetic to some of the ethical standards and spiritual values that are most distinctively Christian.

The curse of some parts of the East to-day, as of England a century ago, is the passion for rapid economic development and the single-minded concentration on pecuniary gain by which that passion is fed, so that every form of social dislocation and individual demoralization is defended on the ground that it is essential to economic progress. But economic progress is not an end but a means; and rapid economic development in a society not prepared for it is not a blessing but a misfortune; and the naïve illusion that a society becomes more prosperous if its output of commodities increases, while the institutions which provide its moral stamina are undermined, will deceive no one who accepts the Christian view that material wealth is to be valued in so far as, and only in so far as, it assists and enriches the life of the spirit. Modern industrialism rests on the concentration of economic power on a scale unknown in previous ages, and the disposition of those who wield it, except in so far as they are restrained by custom or law, is to regard their fellow men as instruments for the realization of economic purposes. But to the Christian human beings are not instruments but brothers, and whether the method by which compulsion is exercised upon them is forced labor or the terms of a wage contract under which they are nominally free but in fact subject to duress, he will seek to replace it by forms of industrial organization which may make coöperation a reality. The natural result of the application of British conceptions of land tenure to primitive communities is what the result of the reception of Roman law in Western

Europe was at the close of the Middle Ages. It is to break up village societies and to swell the ranks of an agricultural proletariat. The natural tendency of unregulated factory industry—a tendency proved by a century of tragic experience—is to expose the wage-workers thus created to the downward thrust of competition, beneath whose pressure the family is dissolved, traditional standards of morality are undermined, and women and children are treated as the cannon-fodder of industry. In this matter the sign-posts on the road are plain for all to read. There is nothing that men are suffering in the East or Africa to-day that they have not undergone in one part of Europe or another at some time during the last 500 years of its tragic history. The toxins which industrial society secretes are known; the remedies for many of them are known also. Christians cannot escape a moral responsibility for seeing that they are applied.

It is not my purpose, however, to dwell now upon the practical measures which are necessary. It is to insist that the churches are neglecting an essential part of their mission unless they foster the zeal for social righteousness, and disseminate the knowledge by which such zeal may be made effective. It must be their task, by re-affirming the social application of their own principles, to point the way to a society in which men may enjoy not only material comfort but spiritual peace, because they feel that their social institutions and industrial organization are the expression not merely of economic expediency or convenience, but of justice.

CHAPTER V

THE CHRISTIAN APPROACH TO INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS

The Reverend Bishop Francis J. McConnell, Ph.D., D.D., LL.D.

THE subject is not to be approached from the point of view of an attack upon the sincerity of individuals or groups of individuals. We are all entangled together in the social and economic system, but nobody can deny that notable progress has been made as we look back over the short period of, let us say, twenty-five years. During the past quarter-century there has been the growth of a larger humanitarian spirit. Nor are we setting a social gospel over against an individual gospel. All that we are pleading for is the extension of the power of Jesus to a larger area of life. We do not think of society as existing apart from the individuals composing it, but on the other hand individuals act differently in groups from the way in which they act individually. Even in the science of mathematics it is impossible for a genius to appear without the background of a fairly well-developed intellectual society. So we are trying to bring about a state of society in which more individuals can attain to saintliness. There are two points that I should like to lay down: (1) there should be unremitting emphasis on human values; (2) we should be willing to accept every new insight into the moral character of God and apply it to human life, as we have utilized every new insight into human values to interpret the nature of God.

I. HUMAN VALUES

We are confronted with the problem of getting human values out of the realm of abstract statement and of dealing with them more concretely. General principles are seldom understood when they are stated generally. They must be made concrete. It is often said that Jesus announced cer-

tain moral and spiritual principles and the implication is that somehow these principles will work themselves out. There is no more complete misunderstanding. Principles do not work out into material expression until somebody works them out. The prophets did not talk in the abstract, but always in the concrete. In the prophetic utterances principles always confront us in concrete form. Amos did not speak in the abstract. All that we can do is to create public opinion to help make changes. Industrial leaders sometimes say to us somewhat contemptuously, "Tell us what we are to do." It is not the business of the Church to tell in detail how to conduct industry, but to create a public opinion insistent upon human values which the industrial world must heed.

The Profit Motive

It is very important for Christianity to attack something strong in the camp of the enemy. Materialism is the strongest philosophy at the present time. It is to the credit of Christianity that it attacks that enemy. If we are going to attack something that is strong in the industrial system, we might as well attack the profit motive. What I mean by profit is the sums that are in a sense left over after wages, earnings of management, interest, risk, and charges have been met—sums that do not represent real effort on the individual's part. There is a large social responsibility for the disposal of these profits. The desire to get profits—by which I mean something for nothing on the individual's part—is at the back of a great many forces that make trouble the whole world round. We can feel very free in using money that we have personally earned, but when we see mills in China in which American capital is invested getting 100 per cent. return, the question as to the justification of profit is upon us; when we see machinery sent to China stripped of all its safety devices as soon as it arrives, then we may well raise the question as to the control of profit. It is the desire to get large sums representing nothing that is earned by the profit-seekers that is at the back of all the oppression arising

through economic exploitation. The time has come when this profit motive should be thoroughly examined.

Housing and Working Conditions

Admitting that institutions are nothing apart from the individuals composing them, we have an angle from which to discuss the so-called environmental factors in the development of men. How often have we heard that it is not quite Christian to lay stress on the force of environment in shaping character! How often have we been told that we cannot make men good by changing the circumstances in which they live! The redemptive work, to use the old-time expression, must be done in the inner realm through the surrender of the individual's will to the Divine Will. When those who lay stress on what they call Christian individualism begin to talk thus, they usually speak as if environmental forces are physical, like houses and streets and factories. By a sort of smuggled-in implication they put the house in which a man lives, or the factory in which he works, by the side of the natural forces, such as the air that he breathes or the land in which he resides. It is odd to note that the same persons who call upon the Christians to triumph over adverse natural forces in the name of the Spirit, often protest most noisily when some preacher pronounces against bad houses and evil working-conditions. These latter seem to be the determining environmental forces. Time and again official ecclesiastics have called upon laborers to submit to such conditions with the consolation that Heaven after all was their home, and that it was not a Christian duty to seek to save themselves by changing the environment in the earthly home.

Confronted as we are repeatedly by such exhortations, we may appropriately note that a large part of the environment under which men in modern communities live is man-made. A house is in itself merely a physical creation, but if it is built for the profit of the owner and not for the welfare of the inhabitant, the selfishness of that owner wrought out into wood and brick is the most potent environmental influence

through about half the time of the inhabitant's life. If a factory is likewise constructed chiefly with the profits of the owners in mind, that factory, physical as it is, is possibly the most powerful single influence in the daily life of thousands of men. Behind the physical fact stands the human fact of the greed of some men whose shadows thus cast themselves across the pathway of their employees. Few Christian individualists would object to the Scriptural doctrine that evil communications corrupt good manners, or prevent men from having any manners at all. Evil communications can take place through an evilly constructed environment, the environment being the expression of human wills. Even from the point of view of the individualist, then, is there not full Christian warrant for seeking to convert to righteousness and justice the makers of environment? I repeat, a wide section of human environment is man-made. The duty of Christianity is to proclaim a message to the makers of environment.

At this juncture some individualist may forget his individualism long enough to remind us that these individual makers of environment are not personally responsible, that they are caught in a system, that their personal intentions are upright, and that their personal regrets are profound when the system works with such admitted injustice. In other words the individualist concedes that no matter how individual a maker of environment may be, as soon as he unites with other makers of environment he acts in a way different from his conduct in the more narrow personal relation. This will lead pretty far. We shall be forced at once to admit that men acting in groups develop points of view and policies of conduct different from those of their ordinary, more strictly personal contacts.

II. NEW INSIGHT INTO THE MORAL CHARACTER OF GOD

The Distinctive Feature of Christianity

Has then Christianity no message for men in these contacts in which the theory of the world, and of moral life, and

of human values is at times utterly at odds with what the same men would hold in other relationships? Here we come upon that fundamental contradiction which is such an embarrassment for Christianity. The distinctive feature of Christianity is that Christians are supposed to move always in the direction of the highest human ideals, the ideals being stated with an increasing appreciation of the human values. Christians are not more religious than believers in non-Christian religions. There is more religion as such in many a little village of India than in many a big city in America. The difference is that the Indian religion concerns itself with innumerable ritualistic or semi-ritualistic performances of no especial moral worth, whereas Christianity is either moral or nothing. If now Christianity acquiesces in injustice which men perpetrate institutionally, and insists in the same breath upon devotion to a growing moral ideal, it is split by a deadly contradiction. Christianity cannot be a half-way religion. It must aim at all or nothing.

Social Betterment

Society has a right to strive for such betterment of social conditions as will give individuals at least a hope. To put it in distinctively religious terms, we have a right to seek for the social conditions under which outstanding saintliness in individuals will become possible. Much of modern life provides for saintliness only as power to resist the grosser temptations. The moral strain with multitudes is that of just an elementary ability day after day to say no. This constant resistance to appeals, almost irresistible in their brute-like might, is indeed a noble spectacle; just as in other ages the day-by-day willingness of laborers to take on their shoulders crushing burdens betokened a certain elementary determination in the human will. Nevertheless industry has found ways to lift such burdens off human backs and transfer them to steel arms and hands. Much industrial advance has come through this relief of masses of mankind from too heavy loads. The minds of men get a chance after their backs cease to ache. The attempt to relieve the

strains of those farthest down in the labor scale has made possible the general improvement which benefits individuals all the way up. Just as it is a count against many social conditions that they smother out all possibility of intellectual and artistic excellence for hosts of youths, so is it just to charge that many such conditions also make impossible the development of that saintliness in individuals which should be the glory of Christianity. We have passed beyond the idea of institutions as ends in themselves to be served by individuals. We are just beginning to see the significance of even the widest phases of social activity for the development of what we may call the intenser and higher individualism.

Prophetic Voices

We should make a much more definite place in the Christian organization for men with prophetic voices. When the genuine prophet arrives those who cannot themselves be prophets should stand by him. We know that there are those who say that the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church. That is all very well for the people who are not martyrs. Such seed is too costly. It is not a very economic use of prophets to stone them.

Prophets do not appear in great numbers and the sad thing about it all is that sooner or later too many of them have to carry on their work outside the Church. The Christian pioneering in social questions to-day is not being extensively done in the Church. Sooner or later the Church will help make adjustments to social demands, but the questions are being too often raised outside by embittered men.

The present social order is in no vast danger from the utterances of ministerial prophets. There is no danger of any sweeping social conflagration coming from the present-day pulpit, but we need men who will bring us back to the simplicities of the Gospel doctrine as to the worth of men. We do not expect careful statements from prophets, but we should give prophets a chance.

This question belongs peculiarly to the mission field. I

know that missionaries often dare not speak out because they will be deported from mission fields by government authorities if they do. If the time should ever come when missionaries feel that they must take risks in speaking on economic situations, particularly in their fields, there is an obligation on the Church and the mission boards to stand by them, sharing their peril, and finding new fields for them.

III. THREE METHODS OF DEALING WITH SOCIAL PROBLEMS

There are three methods of dealing with social problems that have been adopted in the church in the United States of America.

1. The Inquiry as to the Christian Way of Life. This is an attempt by qualified men to bring disputing industrial bodies round a common table in the mood, not of debate, but of a search for common ground of agreement.

2. The Federal Council of Churches. A Bureau of Information has been established to set industrial facts before the churches. There is a competently conducted bulletin service of information.

3. Smaller groups like the Methodist Federation for Social Service and the Church League for Industrial Democracy of the Protestant Episcopal Church. These smaller groups exist simply to raise industrial questions and get them brought before the mind of the church. There is no attempt made to say just how technically a dispute may be settled. The main objective is to bring the facts before the church in as stimulating and provocative fashion as possible.

Part Four

THE COUNCIL'S STATEMENT

ADOPTED BY FORMAL VOTE OF THE COUNCIL

The following statement was prepared by a committee appointed by the section of the Council which discussed the Christian Mission in Relation to Industrial Problems. After consideration and amendment by the Council as a whole it was accepted by formal vote as their official statement.

CHAPTER VI

THE CHRISTIAN MISSION IN RELATION TO INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS IN ASIA AND AFRICA

Christ the Lord of All Life

THE International Missionary Council desires to preface its report on industrial conditions by asserting, with all the power at its command, its conviction that the Gospel of Christ contains a message, not only for the individual soul, but for the world of social organization and economic relations in which individuals live. Christ came that men might have life, and might have it more abundantly. When He wept over Jerusalem, He lamented the spiritual ruin, not merely of an individual, but of a whole society. He chose as His apostles not the wise and learned, but men engaged in the ordinary occupations pursued in all ages by the mass of mankind. His teaching used as its vehicle illustrations drawn from the labor of the shepherd, the fisherman, the wage-earner, and the peasant. By the message of divine love revealed in the Incarnation the division between the spiritual and the material is overcome, and all human relations are transfigured. In the light of that revelation His followers have learned that they cannot love God unless they also love their fellow men with a love that transcends differences of race and class and economic position. It is in such love, Christ taught them, that they will find the Kingdom of Heaven. If they are to be faithful to their Master they must try all social and economic systems by the standard which He revealed. It is their task to seek with the help of His spirit to realize love with ever-increasing fulness, not merely in their own hearts, but in their social order, in their political relations, and in the daily transactions of the factory and the market-place.

Approaching the problems of social life in such a spirit, the Christian will welcome the triumphs of science and technical

skill by which the resources which God has given to His children have been made more fully available for the service of all. But he will regard material wealth as an instrument, not as an end. He will value it primarily as an aid to spiritual growth and vitality. He will desire that economic interests shall be, not the master, but the servant, of civilization. He will recognize the truth of the words, "There is no wealth but life," and will judge different forms of economic activity, not merely by their success in increasing riches, but by the degree to which they foster a Christian character and way of life among all members of the human family. In particular, he will try the social and economic system by three simple, yet fundamental, criteria:

1. Christ's Teaching as to the Sanctity of Personality

The sanctity of personality is a fundamental idea of Christian teaching which is reiterated again and again in the New Testament. "I am come that men might have life." "Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of the least of these ye did it unto me." "It were better for a man that a millstone were hanged about his neck and that he were cast into the sea, rather than that he should offend one of these little ones." In the light of such sayings any form of economic organization which involves the treatment of men primarily as instruments of production, or which sacrifices the opportunity of full personal development which should be the right of every child, is evidently anti-Christian. Human beings, the New Testament teaches, are not instruments, but ends. In the eyes of God all are of equal and infinite value.

2. Christ's Teaching as to Brotherhood

The teaching of the New Testament is that all men are brothers, because all men are children of one Father, and that they owe to each other the service which is the expression of their common sonship. The Christian ethic, therefore, would seem to preclude such struggle for gain or self-advancement as snatches opportunities for personal success

at the expense of the community or of its weaker members, and the organization of economic life primarily with a view to the enrichment of individuals. "He that would be greatest among you let him be the servant of all." "Blessed are the meek." "How hardly shall they that have riches enter the Kingdom of Heaven." Coöperation in unselfish service, rather than competition for individual profit, would seem to be the temper most appropriate to a Christian society.

3. Christ's Teaching as to Corporate Responsibility

It follows from the emphasis laid by the New Testament upon brotherhood that a Christian society is under an obligation to use every means in its power to bring within the reach of all its members the material, as well as the ethical, conditions of spiritual growth and vitality. The Christian Church is described by the apostle as Christ's body. It is not a gathering for prayer and worship of individuals who otherwise are unrelated, but a fellowship and society embracing all human relationships in which all are members one of another; and it is only in such a fellowship, the New Testament teaches, that men can bear the fruit of the Christian life. All forces, therefore, which destroy that fellowship—war, economic oppression, the selfish pursuit of profits, the neglect of the immature, the aged, the sick, or the weak—are definitely and necessarily in sharp contradiction with the spirit of Christianity. Christian society exists in so far, and only in so far, as Christians show not merely in words but in action that they are eager to "bear one another's burdens and thus fulfil the law of Christ."

The teaching thus briefly indicated makes it clear that the New Testament does not recognize the antithesis frequently emphasized by later ages between individual and social regeneration. The task of the Christian Church, therefore, is both to carry the message of Christ to the individual soul, and to create a Christian civilization within which all human beings can grow to their full spiritual stature. It is its duty to acquire the knowledge by which the conditions which

imperil such growth may be removed, and those which foster it may be established. It is its duty to speak and work fearlessly against social and economic injustice. It is its duty both by word and by action to lend its support to all forces which bring nearer the establishment of Christ's Kingdom in the world of social relations, of industrial organization, and of economic life.

We acknowledge with shame and regret that the churches everywhere and the missionary enterprise, coming as it does out of an economic order dominated almost entirely by the profit motive (a motive which itself stands in need of Christian scrutiny), have not been so sensitive to those aspects of the Christian message as would have been necessary sensibly to mitigate the evils which advancing industrialism has brought in its train, and we believe that our failure in this respect has been a positive hindrance—perhaps the gravest of such hindrances—to the power and extension of missionary enterprise.

The Problems and Some Christian Solutions

The International Missionary Council has considered the danger to the establishment and maintenance of Christian moral and social standards arising from the penetration of Western economic civilization into countries which have been hitherto little affected by it. Experience shows that the problems presented by such penetration affect directly and intimately the missionary enterprise, and, unless treated in the spirit of Christian wisdom, present grave obstacles to the progress of Christianity among the peoples concerned. It has been specially impressed by the following points:

1. The problems presented by the investment of capital in undeveloped areas and the necessity of securing that it take place on terms compatible with the welfare and progress of indigenous peoples.

2. The necessity, in developing the natural resources of such areas, both of protecting indigenous peoples and of securing the utilization of their resources for the service of the

world as a whole, on terms compatible with such people's welfare.

3. The obligation resting on the governments of the economically more advanced countries to secure that economically less developed peoples are protected against economic and social injustice, and share fully and equitably in the fruits of economic progress.

4. The vital importance of securing that the political and economic action of different nations interested in economic expansion does not continue to produce the friction between such nations which has hitherto accompanied it.

With a view to meeting the problems thus presented, the Council would suggest that the following points should be borne in mind:

1. The Investment of Capital in Undeveloped Areas

a. Public loans made for the development of industrially undeveloped areas are so fraught with the possibility of international misunderstandings and of dangerous combinations between exploiting groups in lending and borrowing countries that such loans should be made only with the knowledge and approval of the League of Nations and subject to such conditions as it may prescribe.

Where the League of Nations is not recognized, earnest consideration should be given to the establishment of other safeguards which may serve the same purpose.

b. Private investments should in no case carry with them rights of political control over the country in which the investment is made, and in no case should the political power of the government of the investing country be used to secure the right of making loans and of obtaining concessions and other special privileges for its nationals.

c. The development of the economic resources of backward countries should as far as possible be entrusted to undertakings of a public-utility character which have regard not merely to economic profit but to social considerations, on the government of which the people of the country concerned should be adequately represented.

2. The Development of the Economic Resources of Undeveloped Areas

In developing the natural resources of undeveloped countries, it is of vital importance:

a. That economic development should not be accelerated in such a way as to prevent due attention being paid to the problems created by changing social conditions, or as to injure the social welfare of the population affected by it.

b. The welfare of the indigenous populations must be the primary consideration and the practice of alienating land to foreigners without regard to the rights and needs of the peoples of the areas concerned is to be strongly condemned.

c. The utmost care should be taken to prevent the social institutions which preserve the stamina of native peoples from being undermined before they can be replaced by other safeguards.

The revenue of the country should be applied primarily to the development of services, such as health and education, designed to promote the welfare of the indigenous peoples.

3. Protection Against Economic and Social Injustice

It is essential that governments concerned with undeveloped areas should apply to them the knowledge gained by a century of experience of the measures needed to prevent economic and social injustice, and in particular that they should:

a. Stop at once the practice of employing forced labor by companies or private individuals, and also, except in cases of immediate and unforeseen national emergency, by public authorities.

b. Insure that contracts of labor entered upon by workers of primitive races should be fully understood by them, should be voluntarily entered upon, and should be subject to the approval of the administrative authorities, particularly in regard to their stipulations concerning the following points:

(1) The length of the contract should not be such as to endanger the home life of the worker.
(2) Provision should be made for the return of the worker to his home, at intervals where possible, and at the expiration of his contract.
(3) The general conditions under which the labor is to be carried out, including wages, housing, food, and clothing, should be satisfactory.
(4) The medical and sanitary equipment of the workplace should be adequate.
(5) Where workers are imported from abroad, in addition to the matters mentioned above especial care should be taken to insure that the workers are adequately safeguarded during their journeys, and that their return to their homes at the expiration of their contracts, if they so wish, should be fully guaranteed.
(6) Where workers are imported from abroad, due provision should be made, wherever possible, that they should be accompanied by their wives, and for the establishment of quarters for married people.
(7) The practice of prescribing that breaches of labor contracts on the part of workers are to be dealt with as *criminal* offences is to be condemned as incompatible with modern ideas of justice.

c. Introduce the legislative provisions necessary to maintain and advance the standard of life of workers in industry; in particular:

(1) To limit the working hours, and to secure not less than one day's rest in seven for all workers.
(2) To establish a legally enforceable minimum wage.
(3) To insure proper standards of health and of safety in working conditions.
(4) To bring about the progressive elimination of child labor.
(5) To insure that the conditions of women's labor are not such as to imperil their health and the future of the race.

(6) To insure that those workers partially or wholly disabled by accident or sickness arising out of the conditions of their employment are adequately provided for.

(7) To establish a system of inspection competent to supervise the application of such legislation and to insure its efficiency.[1]

d. Establish freedom of combination and organization for employers and employed alike.

e. Develop the social services of education, public health, and housing, and take steps to create an environment favorable to a healthy and self-respecting life.

f. Remove all restrictions which have as their effect to impose special economic disabilities on indigenous workers for the economic advantage of other classes of workers and capitalists, by excluding the former from particular employments, by limiting their access to land, by restricting their right of meeting and free speech, and by interfering with their freedom of movement.

4. Avoidance of Friction Between Nations Engaged in Economic Expansion

Experience shows that among the most prolific causes of friction among nations has been the rivalry of competing imperialisms to secure preferential access to sources of raw materials, markets, and opportunities of investment in the still undeveloped regions of the world. It is of vital importance to the future of civilization that this rivalry, ruinous alike to the nations engaged in it and to the indigenous populations, should be brought under control. Such control can be established only by the action of an international authority, which can do impartial justice to the claims of all nations. The International Missionary Council looks forward, therefore, to such an extension of the

[1] It may be recalled that on all these matters, the governing principles have received the sanction of the nations of the world through the conferences of the International Labor Organization, and that the approved methods of bringing them into operation may be studied in the Conventions and Recommendations adopted by that organization.

activities of the League of Nations and of the International Labor Organization as may result in the creation of an international code, defining the mutual relations between the various powers interested in colonial expansion, and the indigenous populations affected by it, and also to fuller coöperation between all nations, whether members of the League or not, for the attainment of that object. It regards the economic functions of the League in relation to such matters as loans, concessions, labor and tariff policy, and communications as among the most important branches of its work, and desires to see them extended as widely and rapidly as possible.

Provision for Research

The International Missionary Council recognizes the difficulties and also the differences of opinion that exist as to both the necessity for and the method in the application of the teaching of Christianity to social organization and economic relations. The Council therefore regards it as of vital importance that the Christian bodies both in the mission field and in Europe and America should be equipped for the study of this subject by the establishment of an adequately staffed Bureau of Social and Economic Research and Information, in connection with the International Missionary Council. Such a bureau should work in close contact with the workers and national Christian councils in the mission field, the corresponding bureau established as a result of the Stockholm Conference, the departments of the Young Men's Christian Association and Young Women's Christian Association concerned with industrial and social problems, and the International Labor Office. It should have as its functions:

1. To produce reports and supply information on the economic and social problems arising from the contact between more advanced economic civilizations and the peoples of undeveloped countries, and with this object to secure that the necessary research is regularly undertaken.

2. To advise the missionary organizations as to the special economic and social problems of the areas in which they are working.

3. To arrange for joint action between different Christian bodies both in sending countries and on the mission field, with a view to the removal of unchristian conditions of life and work.

4. To bring to the notice of Christian bodies and mission boards the urgent necessity of securing an adequate supply of competent workers in the mission field equipped with the necessary economic and social training.

5. To bring to the notice of Christian bodies and missionaries the importance of forming groups of students who will investigate social and economic problems in their various areas and disseminate knowledge with regard to them, and of emphasizing in their schools and other educational activities the social content of the Christian message.

6. To coöperate with other agencies, both public and private, in all measures which have as their object to raise the level of economic and social life. These functions should be performed with the aid of the regular staff of the Council.

The Council refers this proposal to the national organizations, instructing its officers to submit detailed plans, including suggestions for financial support, apart from the ordinary funds of the Council, and provision for the maximum coöperation with other bodies concerned.

Conclusion

In concluding its report upon industrial problems, the International Missionary Council desires once again to emphasize its conviction that the advancement, by thought and speech and action, of social righteousness is an essential and vital part of the Christian message to mankind. A Christian society is to be known by its fruits. Among those fruits are love, peace, joy, and the spirit of patient and self-sacrificing service. It is by the revelation of such qualities with ever-increasing fulness, in their industry, in their politics, and in the other practical affairs of their daily

life, not less than in their personal conduct, that Christians must seek to commend their Faith to peoples and individuals who have not yet received it. "If a man love not his brother whom he hath seen, how shall he love God whom he hath not seen?"

The fulfilment of such a mission calls both for devotion and for knowledge. Knowledge, not less than the other gifts which elevate and purify human life, is of God. Christian churches, in all parts of the world, must seek to obtain a fuller knowledge of the social and economic problems which confront them, in order that, under the guidance of their Master, they may be less unworthy instruments in the advancement of His Kingdom.

The International Missionary Council has attempted to indicate some of the practical conclusions, which as it thinks are suggested by the experience hitherto obtained, of the issues raised by the spread of Western economic civilization among peoples as yet but little affected by it, and it has suggested methods by which that experience may be made more fully available in the future for the guidance of all who are concerned in missionary work. It has done so because it believes that it is the duty of Christians, while preserving an open mind to new light from whatever quarter such light may come, not merely to state the general principles of the Christian Faith, but to make clear their application to the problems of human life which arise in the mission field. The Council calls on all who have felt the power of the Christian message to join with it in prayer for a clearer vision of the meaning of the tasks which the service of their Master imposes upon them in their social and economic relations, and for the grace by which these tasks may be more hopefully undertaken.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

ARTICLE 123 OF THE MEXICAN CONSTITUTION OF 1917

OF LABOR AND SOCIAL WELFARE

The Congress and the State Legislatures shall make laws relative to labor with due regard for the needs of each region of the Republic, and in conformity with the following principles, and these principles and laws shall govern the labor of skilled and unskilled workmen, employees, domestic servants, and artizans, and in general every contract of labor.

I. Eight hours shall be the maximum limit of a day's work.

II. The maximum limit of night work shall be seven hours. Unhealthy and dangerous occupations are forbidden to all women and to children under sixteen years of age. Night work in factories is likewise forbidden to women and to children under sixteen years of age; nor shall they be employed in commercial establishments after ten o'clock at night.

III. The maximum limit of a day's work for children over twelve and under sixteen years of age shall be six hours. The work of children under twelve years of age shall not be made the subject of a contract.

IV. Every workman shall enjoy at least one day's rest for every six days' work.

V. Women shall not perform any physical work requiring considerable physical effort during the three months immediately preceding parturition; during the month following parturition they shall necessarily enjoy a period of rest and shall receive their salaries or wages in full and retain their employment and the rights they may have acquired under their contracts. During the period of lactation they shall enjoy two extraordinary daily periods of rest of one-half hour each, in order to nurse their children.

VI. The minimum wage to be received by a workman shall be that considered sufficient, according to the conditions prevailing in the respective region of the country, to satisfy the normal needs of the life of the workman, his education, and his lawful pleasures, considering him as the head of a family. In all agricultural, commercial, manufacturing, or mining enterprises the workmen shall have the right to participate in the profits in the manner fixed in Clause IX of this article.

VII. The same compensation shall be paid for the same work, without regard to sex or nationality.

VIII. The minimum wage shall be exempt from attachment, set-off, or discount.

IX. The determination of the minimum wage and of the rate of profit-sharing described in Clause VI shall be made by special commissions to be appointed in each municipality and to be subordinated to the Central Board of Conciliation to be established in each State.

X. All wages shall be paid in legal currency and shall not be paid in

merchandise, orders, counters, or any other representative token with which it is sought to substitute money.

XI. When owing to special circumstances it becomes necessary to increase the working hours, there shall be paid as wages for the overtime 100 per cent. more than those fixed for regular time. In no case shall the overtime exceed three hours or continue for more than three consecutive days; and no women of whatever age or boys under sixteen years of age may engage in overtime work.

XII. In every agricultural, industrial, mining, or other class of work employers are bound to furnish their workmen comfortable and sanitary dwelling-places, for which they may charge rents not exceeding one-half of one per cent. per month of the assessed value of the properties.[1] They shall likewise establish schools, dispensaries, and other services necessary to the community. If the factories are located within inhabited places and more than 100 persons are employed therein, the first of the above-mentioned conditions shall be complied with.

XIII. Furthermore, there shall be set aside in these labor centers, whenever their population exceeds 200 inhabitants, a space of land not less than 5,000 square meters for the establishment of public markets, and the construction of buildings designed for municipal services and places of amusement. No saloons or gambling houses shall be permitted in such labor centers.

XIV. Employers shall be liable for labor accidents and occupational diseases arising from work; therefore, employers shall pay the proper indemnity, according to whether death or merely temporary or permanent disability has ensued, in accordance with the provisions of law. This liability shall remain in force even though the employer contract for the work through an agent.

XV. Employers shall be bound to observe in the installation of their establishments all the provisions of law regarding hygiene and sanitation and to adopt adequate measures to prevent accidents due to the use of machinery, tools, and working materials, as well as to organize work in such a manner as to assure the greatest guaranties possible for the health and lives of workmen compatible with the nature of the work, under penalties which the law shall determine.

XVI. Workmen and employers shall have the right to unite for the defense of their respective interests, by forming syndicates, unions, etc.

XVII. The law shall recognize the right of workmen and employers to strike and to lockout.

XVIII. Strikes shall be lawful when by the employment of peaceful means they shall aim to bring about a balance between the various factors of production, and to harmonize the rights of capital and labor. In the case of public services, the workmen shall be obliged to give notice ten days in advance to the Board of Conciliation and Arbitration of the date set for the suspension of work. Strikes shall only be considered unlawful when the majority of the strikers shall resort to acts of violence

[1] See: Art. 27, Clause VII, second paragraph of 1917.

against persons or property, or in case of war when the strikers belong to establishments and services dependent on the government. Employees of military manufacturing establishments of the Federal Government shall not be included in the provisions of this clause, inasmuch as they are a dependency of the national army.

XIX. Lockouts shall only be lawful when the excess of production shall render it necessary to shut down in order to maintain prices reasonably above the cost of production, subject to the approval of the Board of Conciliation and Arbitration.

XX. Differences or disputes between capital and labor shall be submitted for settlement to a board of conciliation and arbitration to consist of an equal number of representatives of the workmen and of the employers and of one representative of the government.

XXI. If the employer shall refuse to submit his differences to arbitration or to accept the award rendered by the Board, the labor contract shall be considered as terminated, and the employer shall be bound to indemnify the workman by the payment to him of three months' wages, in addition to the liability which he may have incurred by reason of the dispute. If the workman reject the award, the contract will be held to have terminated.

XXII. An employer who discharges a workman without proper cause or for having joined a union or syndicate or for having taken part in a lawful strike shall be bound, at the option of the workman, either to perform the contract or to indemnify him by the payment of three months' wages. He shall incur the same liability if the workman shall leave his service on account of the lack of good faith on the part of the employer or of maltreatment either as to his own person or that of his wife, parents, children, or brothers or sisters. The employer cannot evade liability when the maltreatment is inflicted by subordinates or agents acting with his consent or knowledge.

XXIII. Claims of workmen for salaries or wages accrued during the past year and other indemnity claims shall be preferred over any other claims, in cases of bankruptcy or composition.

XXIV. Debts contracted by workmen in favor of their employers or their employers' associates, subordinates, or agents may only be charged against the workmen themselves and in no case and for no reason collected from the members of their families. Nor shall such debts be paid by the taking of more than the entire wages of the workman for any one month.

XXV. No fee shall be charged for finding work for workmen by municipal offices, employment bureaus, or other public or private agencies.

XXVI. Every contract of labor between a Mexican citizen and a foreign principal shall be legalized before the competent municipal authority and viséed by the consul of the nation to which the workman is undertaking to go, on the understanding that, in addition to the usual clauses, special and clear provisions shall be inserted for the payment, by

the foreign principal making the contract, of the cost to the laborer of repatriation.

XXVII. The following stipulations shall be null and void and shall not bind the contracting parties, even though embodied in the contract:

1. Stipulations providing for inhuman day's work on account of its notorious excessiveness, in view of the nature of the work.

2. Stipulations providing for a wage-rate which in the judgment of the Board of Conciliation and Arbitration is not remunerative.

3. Stipulations providing for a term of more than one week before the payment of wages.

4. Stipulations providing for the assigning of places of amusement, eating places, cafés, taverns, saloons, or shops for the payment of wages, when employees of such establishments are not involved.

5. Stipulations involving a direct or indirect obligation to purchase articles of consumption in specified shops or places.

6. Stipulations permitting the retention of wages by way of fines.

7. Stipulations constituting a waiver on the part of the workman of the indemnities to which he may become entitled by reason of labor accidents or occupational diseases, damages for breach of contract, or for discharge from work.

8. All other stipulations implying the waiver of any right vested in the workman by labor laws.

XXVIII. The law shall decide what property constitutes the family patrimony. These goods shall be inalienable and shall not be mortgaged, or attached, and may be bequeathed with simplified formalities in the succession proceedings.

XXIX. Institutions of popular insurance[1] established for old age, sickness, life, unemployment, accident, and others of a similar character are considered of social utility; the Federal and State Governments shall therefore encourage the organization of institutions of this character in order to instil and inculcate popular habits of thrift.

XXX. Coöperative associations for the construction of cheap and sanitary dwelling-houses for workmen shall likewise be considered of social utility whenever these properties are designed to be acquired in ownership by the workmen within specified periods.

[1] In the desire to adhere as closely as possible to the original, the term "popular insurance" has been used. It would seem, however, that in making use of the expression *Seguros Populares*, it was intended to convey the full connotation of the term "Social Insurance." (See *Social Insurance*, Seager, 1910.)

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